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Building the Reformed Kirk: the cultural use of ecclesiastical buildings in Scotland, 1560–1645

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Abstract

This thesis examines the built environment and culture of Scotland between 1560 and 1645 by analysing church buildings erected during the period. The mid-sixteenth-century ecclesiastical Reformation and mid-seventeenth-century political and ecclesiastical tumult in Scotland provide brackets that frame the development of this physical aspect of Scottish cultural history. This thesis draws most heavily on architectural and ecclesiastical history, and creates a compound of the two methods. That new compound brings to the forefront of the analysis the people who produced the buildings and for whom the church institution operated. The evidence used reflects this dual approach: examinations of buildings themselves, where they survive, of documentary evidence, and of contemporary and modern maps support the narrative analysis. The thesis is divided into two sections: Context and Process. The Context section cements the place of the cultural contributions made by ecclesiastical buildings to Scottish history by analysing the ecclesiastical historical, theological, and political contexts of buildings. The historical analysis helps explain why, for example, certain places managed to build churches successfully while others took much longer. The creative tension between these on-the-ground institutions and theoretical ideas contributed to Scotland's ability to produce cultural spaces. The Process section analyses the narratives of individual buildings in several different steps: Preparing, Building, Occupying, and Relating. These steps connected people with the physical entity of a church building. The Preparing chapter shows how many reasons in Scotland there were to initiate a building project. The Building chapter uses financial, design, and work narratives to tease out the intricacies of individual church stories. Occupying and Relating delve into later histories of individual congregations to understand how churches sat within the world about them. Early modern Scottish church building was immensely varied: the position, style, impact, purpose, and success of church buildings were different across the realm. The manner people building and using churches reacted to their environments played no small role in forming habits for future action. Church buildings thus played a role establishing who early modern Scottish people were, what their institutions did, and how their spirituality was lived daily.

I, Graham T. Chernoff, declare that this thesis has been composed by me, that the work is my own, and that it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

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Thank you to Prof. Jane Dawson for her knowledge in every area this thesis touches upon, and her continuing mentorship. This research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the University of Edinburgh and the School of Divinity at the university. Further financial support with the costs of fieldwork has been provided by the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain's Annabel Ricketts and Ramsden bursaries, and the Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at the University of Edinburgh. To the dozens of ministers, kirk officers, and session elders who have let me into buildings, fascinated me with history not in books, and received me with trusting hospitality goes my deepest gratitude for continuing to build the Church in Scotland.

I would not have been able to accomplish this task without my wife and her overflowing reserves of love, patience, and laughter. Her willingness to do this with me has kept me going at every turn.

Though I should have been unable to complete this thesis without the above-mentioned support, any fault found in its content, implications, or structure is entirely my own.

G.T.C.

2012

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A note on the text

All money is in Scots pounds, unless indicated otherwise. In 1603, James VI regulated the exchange rate between Scots and English pounds at £12 to £1 sterling. A merk was worth two-thirds of £1, equivalent to 13s 4d.

Transcriptions of manuscripts have been left in the original Scots, aside from modernising v's, w's, i's, thorns, and yoghs. Contractions have been expanded.

Abbreviations

FES: Scott, Hew. *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*. New ed. 11 vols. Vols. 1 to 8. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1925–1950.

NAS: National Archives of Scotland.

NLS: National Library of Scotland.

RPS: Records of the Parliament of Scotland: http://www.rps.ac.uk. University of St Andrews, 2007-2012.

Reg. Episc. Brech.: Chalmers, Patrick, and John Ingles Chalmers, eds. *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis : Cui Accedunt Cartae Quamplurimae Originales*. 2 vols. Vol. 2. Aberdoniae: [Bannatyne Club], 1856.

Introduction

People and buildings

This is a history of people and their buildings. The evidence people leave when they live with buildings can provide essential insight into how they see the world. For this reason, people are the topic while buildings are the focus that brings the topic into sharp relief. For many ordinary people, buildings themselves might be the only tangible connection to history available. The past can be alive in stone and timber: the physical longevity of particular structures is a testament to how people in the past understood permanence in a time of change. When a building survives long enough, it can carry the past into the present. The commitment, energy, resources, and expression invested in buildings throughout history demonstrate that these structures can hold within them significant meanings.[1] Meaning is an elusive concept when taking the long view, so in order to uncover just how much meaning people were capable of investing into buildings, it is essential to focus on particular types of meaning and particular types of buildings. A particular type of building where such memory, investment, and longevity are possible is a church.

The spiritual, cultural, institutional, political, and societal importance of the gathering together of adherents to the Christian religion in Scotland is plain to see in the history of the country in the early modern period. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Scottish ecclesiastical world was characterised by both interruption and continuity. The adjustments of the Reformation fit into old traditions, setting a pattern of accommodation and conflict that would be seen throughout the country. The period after the 1560 Reformation Crisis ushered in a long time where societal and cultural change became essentially the norm for everyday life. In church buildings and the stories that led to their building, occupying, and use, there is abundant evidence that this time of societal and cultural change bedded down across Scotland in entirely different ways.

Establishing a new church building, a place where memories and meanings could thrive, was an exercise in negotiating the fine distinctions between tradition and novelty, national and local politics, and accommodation and single-mindedness. This

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[1] For a succint exposition of the ability of architecture—the artistic expression of building structures—to create spaces and thereby delineate first relationships among people and groups and second the meanings flowing from such relationships, see Helen Hills, *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, *Women and Gender in the Early Modern World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 2.

thesis explains how people negotiated those fine distinctions by examining the cultural meaning of church buildings in early modern Scotland. The examination focuses on a particular type of building: the new parish church. Parish churches were one of the main places the community gathered in ecclesiastical life, but also in political and cultural life. Building a church was an undertaking that required the energy of many people in a community. There were important connections between ordinary people and those people who knew how to gain access to the institutional avenues that allowed them to accomplish the task. These connections allowed the less powerful people to participate in this activity in a way that gave them ownership over the church that eventually sat at the heart of their community.

The people who drove this building activity are at the heart of this thesis: what they were providing for the society of Scotland at the time, and how they managed to produce culture and participate in a nation- and church-edifying exercise that was expressed for the most part through the localities. There are many ways to understand the culture of the past. There is productive culture and active culture. These categories can be described more usefully in terms of objects and behaviours. On the one hand, there are objects produced for artistic, practical, and decadent reasons. These objects are cultural. They are items produced skilfully that express the style of an age, region, or level of society such as pictures, sculpture, architecture, domestic tools, books, gardens, symbolic tools in political and ecclesiastical use, musical instruments, or forms of transport. Throughout history, they have carried with them enough symbolism to affect how people interacted with them. More often than not the materiality and luxury of such cultural items meant that ownership of these was confined to the wealthier sections of society. Yet such materiality, perhaps because of how permanent or how public it could be, might also be accessible for people across levels in society. Culture seen as behaviour, on the other hand, is made up of how those objects were produced and used. This is where people were 'doing' culture, and creating meanings. The actions involved in music, poetry, literature, painting, worship, debate, legislation, justice, and moving created meanings above the simple interaction between the person and the object.

Church buildings can be seen as physical remnants of a larger portion of society than the sections of society represented by stately homes, castles, mercantile residences and economic structures (such as mercat crosses, trons, ports, and bridges). Because more people were able to use churches when compared with these other spaces, there are more perspectives available within church building stories from which to understand the human relationship with the built environment in early

modern Scotland. The study of these more elite structures has made a valuable contribution to architectural and cultural history that can be complemented by such on-the-ground ecclesiastical history.[2] If church buildings can be understood to occupy both of the above categorisations of culture, their ability to represent more people in such a way is even more important. This is not to privilege one type of representation above another; it is merely to note that parish churches will inevitably carry as many, if not more, complex meanings when compared with elite structures. The Reformation had to deal with its parish churches: because of this, it was both broad in its effect on society and long in its chronological scope. The changes in the physical plant of churches in Scotland reveal much about the people whose actions and beliefs made up the Reformation. Related to this, the way people used the buildings was a significant part of their culture, not only within the institution and worship of the Church, but as it affected the community and politics as well. This also leads to an understanding of the role church buildings played in demarcating the space of the kingdom of Scotland because of their geographical spread. Churches contributed to extending the kingdom politically and territorially. This contribution can be seen in terms of participating in modernising Scotland by the middle of the seventeenth century.

Why this needs study: Literature review

The evidence presented in this thesis creates a narrative of how people negotiated, interacted, and contended with their world. It is vital to understand the physical history of a place if we seek to understand the cultural history of that place.[3] Recent architectural historiography has hailed the role of culture in architectural history. Andrew Ballantyne writes, 'We can measure and describe a form of a ruined building, but without a culture to locate it in it remains meaningless'.[4] Meaning in a

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[2] An example of such complementary work is Ian Campbell and Aonghus Mackechnie, 'The 'Great Temple of Solomon' at Stirling Castle', *Architectural History* 54 (2011).

[3] This statement does not represent a consensus. The need for context in architectural history is controversial. There exists a line of argument within cultural architectural history that asserts that architecture by its nature lacks historical context. The supporters of this argument claim the need to rehabilitate architecture as a force unto itself rather than as the context for other social and cultural changes: that is, the artistic endeavour of building produces spaces that define future uses and participate themselves in the creation of society and therefore history. This is a reaction to structuralist readings of architectural history that consider artistic building practices as existing within formal frameworks similar to languages, thus overlooking 'the added complication that space does not simply map existing social relations, but helps to construct them—indeed, has a primary role here'. See Hills, *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 5–11.

[4] Andrew Ballantyne, 'Architecture as Evidence', in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Özkaya (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 36.

building is an elusive concept. Ballantyne is arguing that a building's meaning comes from its culture, its use. It follows that in order to analyse a building's meaning, analysing its culture at the same time is essential. Physical observation is helpful, but must be placed in a context of people living in history. On the other hand, Nancy Stieber describes the work of architectural historians as looking 'at the work performed by the built environment in the life of a culture'.[5] From her perspective, a building can work in and for culture, contributing to its depth, symbolism, and vitality. It seems no one would contest that argument. Yet the concept that a building therefore has a priori meaning waiting to be unleashed onto an unsuspecting culture does not allow room for people contributing to their culture in a meaningful way. These are two different interpretations of how culture and architecture are connected. Such connections produced important architectural works in seventeenth-century Scotland which have long been the subject of historical study. The stories of new church buildings in early modern Scotland tell of a country significantly interested in how the ecclesiastical, political, and artistic culture sat within its time, and almost as importantly, how that culture perpetuated itself so it could thrive. The literature that relates to these questions in the Scottish context sits on a spectrum with pure architectural history about churches on one end and essentially narrative-driven cultural history on the other. The existing literature as summarised below has failed to provide a satisfying analysis taking into account the interaction possible between architectural history and cultural history. This is a result of focusing too strongly either on the material and style of buildings on the one hand or on the experiences and ideas communicated through text-based documents on the other. The approach this thesis takes allows the buildings and the cultural value placed upon them to be brought forward and used to understand parts of early modern Scottish life in a different light.

The literature that draws on the architectural history of Scottish churches has not provided a satisfying analysis of the local shifts that building processes went through in the generations after the Reformation. There have been convincing, in-depth studies of church building work from the perspective of architectural history, such as David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross's *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland from the Earliest Christian Times to the Seventeenth Century*,[6] George Hay's *The*

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[5] Nancy Stieber, 'Architecture between Disciplines', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 2 (2003): p. 176.

[6] David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland from the Earliest Christian Times to the Seventeenth Century*, 3 vols., vol. 3 (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1896).

Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches,[7] Richard Fawcett's *The Architecture of the Scottish Medieval Church*,[8] Nigel Yates's *Preaching, Word and Sacrament: Scottish Church Interiors*,[9] and the extensive and continuing Buildings of Scotland series. These works have provided a nearly complete catalogue of buildings erected in Scotland during the period under study. Their focus on architectural history has kept much of the descriptive analysis within the realm of building material, artistic style and provenance, and architectural patterns. They have been essential reference works from which many of the foundation stones for this thesis have been hewn. But as has been implied already, the entire edifice of this enquiry is built on more than architectural history. The life within the buildings these works have studied is not only in their permanence, their evocation of connections to broad artistic trends, or their indication of economic sustainability in a particular region. The people who planned for them, prepared for them, built them, and used them have left much evidence about how they went about life within these places.

There has been some important work done with this user-focused perspective in mind. With church buildings, this is often done through analysing the effect particular theological movements have had on buildings. Andrew Spicer's work, culminating most recently in *Calvinist churches in early modern Europe*,[10] has highlighted the significant connections between churches in the main Reformed countries in Europe. He has produced a study of Reformed church buildings in Geneva, Hungary, Scotland, the Dutch Republic, and France, confining his enquiry to roughly the Reformed ascendancy in all these countries, that is mid-sixteenth century to late seventeenth century. Spicer relies heavily on an historical narrative of Calvinism becoming established in these different places. He bases the background of his study on the historical context of the Reformed communities, Calvin's theology of building, and travellers' diaries (not explicitly Reformed). Spicer has provided a solid explanation of the theological changes that contributed to church building changes. However he never makes his main argument entirely explicit. It is unclear whether his main contention is that the international links between Reformed

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[7] George Hay, *The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches, 1560–1843* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).

[8] Richard Fawcett, *The Architecture of the Scottish Medieval Church, 1100–1560* (New Haven & London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2011).

[9] Nigel Yates, *Preaching, Word and Sacrament : Scottish Church Interiors 1560–1860* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2009).

[10] Andrew Spicer, *Calvinist Churches in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

communities were the most significant part of creating new pan-Reformed parameters for church buildings or that theological and political ferment of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had an overwhelming effect on the physical environment of Reformed worshippers. Spicer's heavy use of seventeenth-century travel diaries has limited application: he does not allow for the possibility that an outside observer's evidence might be disconnected from its context.

Spicer's second chapter, 'The state church: Scotland', provides a wide-ranging, albeit selective, narrative catalogue of church buildings in Scotland from 1560 to 1690. The chapter includes work on churches which needed altering at the Reformation, new churches from immediately after 1560, early seventeenth-century churches, churches which were affected by Charles I's ecclesiastical policies, and churches built after the National Covenant to the Glorious Revolution. In most cases the new churches are only mentioned briefly, fitting into his historical argument that Calvinist churches could be established throughout a particular country. This is also where his book has fallen into more of a narrative catalogue: he does not challenge the existing historiography of the Reformation to Revolution period. He fits the buildings' stories into top-down Scottish ecclesiastical history. As far as the evidence goes, this is an appropriate way of writing about building history, as these major projects were often initiated, supported, and completed by people from the top. There can be more to the story however. He has provided an events-driven narrative. The structure here takes a more rounded approach: institutions, building processes, and cultural activity make up the drive of the thesis. By involving not only events but these other aspects of church and society, this thesis embraces cultural history with buildings as its focus, rather than its exclusive topic.

Spicer's work is quite different than my own in this respect. In the last paragraphs of each chapter, for example, he leaves very little room for interpretative work: in each case the chapter ends abruptly after finishing a description of the last building. Though he weaves in the history of each Reformed community, he does it so the history simply supports his claims on the buildings. He does not allow the buildings, and by extension the ones who built them, to play a significant role in the history he narrates.

Another set of important works on the juncture between church buildings and cultural life include Deborah Howard's *Scottish Architecture from the Reformation to the*

Restoration,[11] which by way of expansion and explanation takes into account many of the ecclesiastical and cultural milieux prevalent at the time when her objects of study were built. Nigel Yates's *Liturgical Space*,[12] Richard Kieckhefer's *Theology in Stone*,[13] André Biéler's *Architecture in Worship*,[14] and Allan Doig's *Liturgy and Architecture*[15] offer valuable analysis of the interface between architecture and the substance of Christian worship. These are mostly written using a theological perspective, while at the same time drawing on the historical tension that has been at the heart of the Christian world since Jesus told his disciples not to be concerned with the stones of the temple. These histories weave architectural history—styles and interpretation, building material research, and furnishing—with ecclesiastical matters like liturgy, church history movements, and theological changes. Yet their arguments do not focus around the cultural experience of the building users. Rather than gaining the perspective from the pews, the books analyse theological and architectural shifts to write a narrative of buildings, rather than people in buildings.

What did it mean on the ground for the Reformation to create a church—that is, a community of godly believers—in the public space of the burghs, villages, and farms of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scotland? The existing historiography deals with this question from an institutional and political point of view, but not from the physical action of building churches. While existing architectural historiography addresses many of the stylistic, economic, and artistic trends (the cultural product) of building churches, only in a few cases does the literature address how this culture of building was useful for helping to foster the church as a spiritual and social entity.

The writing of the history of the Scottish Reformation changed significantly in the middle of the last century, when historians from particular ecclesiastical perspectives rehabilitated the intricacy of the received narrative that had prevailed for much of the Presbyterian-dominated history of the previous centuries. The main

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[11] Deborah Howard, *Scottish Architecture: Reformation to Restoration, 1560–1660* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995).

[12] Nigel Yates, *Liturgical Space : Christian Worship and Church Buildings in Western Europe 1500–2000*, *Liturgy, Worship and Society* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

[13] Richard Kieckhefer, *Theology in Stone : Church Architecture from Byzantium to Berkeley* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[14] André Biéler, *Architecture in Worship : The Christian Place of Worship : A Sketch of the Relationships between the Theology of Worship and the Architectural Conception of Christian Churches from the Beginnings to Our Day* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1965).

[15] Allan Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture from the Early Church to the Middle Ages*, *Liturgy, Worship, and Society* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

turning point centred around the quatercentenary of the Reformation, when Gordon Donaldson published *The Scottish Reformation* and David McRoberts edited *Essays on the Scottish Reformation*, from Episcopalian and Catholic perspectives, respectively.[16] The effect that this historiographical shift had on the study of the Reformation has been highlighted as introducing methods of political, social, and economic history in order to complement the traditional analysis of theological disagreements and ecclesiastical change being the most important drivers for the changes in 1560.[17] Much of the historical work about the Reformation since then has fallen within this description: it has filled in the gaps so expertly highlighted in the middle part of the century, in the task of broadening the Reformation by studying it in further detail from different perspectives. This has helped to bring Scottish history to the prominence it deserved, and eventually contributing to the development of the new British history. The analysis of existing evidence with new methods is a significant part of Scottish historiography, and much recent work has demonstrated the utility of contributing to the project begun in the mid-century.

Recent scholarship in the history of the Reformation, in Scotland in particular, has focused on bringing to the large-scale narratives developed in previous scholarly generations a more intricate view of the effects the Reformation had on localised places. The received wisdom about political and religious reformations co-operating to create a new regime in the country with far-reaching effects because of the magnitude of the changes has been thrown into doubt by a critical look at what was actually going on in the churches of the land. The most recent work undertaking this task has been John McCallum's *Reforming the Scottish parish*, an analytical history of the establishment of Reformed ministry in one region of Scotland.[18] His penetrating work combining the evidence of stipends, ministers' working patterns, and parochial worship and discipline has shown how the picture varied significantly depending on which places one looks in Fife. Fife was one of the centres of the Reformation according to tradition. Yet McCallum's work has shown that there were some parishes that we far from the Reformed ideal. The explanation for these facts lie within the difficulty the institution had in extending its influence during its early

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[16] Gordon Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960); David McRoberts, ed., *Essays on the Scottish Reformation: 1543–1625* (Glasgow: Burns, 1962).

[17] Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community: Scotland, 1470–1625* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981), p. 75.

[18] John McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish parish: the Reformation in Fife, 1560–1640* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010).

years, in terms of both power and finance. McCallum's book provides valuable insight, though its analysis could occasionally have been helped by enlivening the statistics presented in further detail. From the opposite perspective, Margo Todd has demonstrated that ordinary people throughout parishes in Scotland dealt with the decrees coming from their newly Reformed kirk authorities in many different ways.[19] The people on the ground embraced the discipline of the kirk as long as it was relatively consistent with existing modes of social order. The focus on the local in this work is often overwhelmingly detailed, providing the minutiae of day-to-day ecclesiastical life. Todd asserts that understanding the local level of Reformation in Scotland is vital for understanding the true effects of the high-level ecclesiastical and political shifts the country underwent in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Histories which have sat more consistently with traditional scholarly methods have also uncovered intricate detail so far unexplored. Alan MacDonald analyses an institutional-political course of history that touches on the main themes of the history of the Scottish Reformtaion in a detailed way.[20] By combining analysis of power (in the political world) and worship (in the ecclesiastical world), MacDonald has developed new insights into the fractious nature of the Reformation in Scotland, arguing cogently that the ecclesiastical life of the realm had disintegrated into dissension and compromise by 1625, leaving an untenable ecclesiastical legacy to pass onto a new king.

Jane Dawson narrates the history of the country in the century leading up to the Reformation, using the ecclesiastical crisis of 1560 as a climax in the story of significant changes in the society, politics, and culture of Scotland and the transition from the late medieval period to the early modern one.[21] Dawson's conclusions about the consequences of the disappearance of the pre-Reformation church on the confessional, diplomatic, cultural, and economic world of Scotland lie within the changed outlook on governance and politics, worship, unity of the kingdom, and relationship with Europe. Dawson portrays the Reformation as an all-encompassing series of events that reveal the intricate balance struck in the period between continuity and change, thereby clarifying the common experience of ordinary people.

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[19] Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002).

[20] Alan R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567–1625: Sovereignty, Polity, and Liturgy*, *St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).

[21] Jane E.A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed, 1488–1587* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

The experience of dealing with new ways of worshipping and relating to the outside world within a cultural milieu in which not everything had changed meant that for ordinary people the Reformation was a process after an event. Dawson in her analysis prepares the road for further understandings of long Reformation.

The important work of combining political events with a cultural perspective on the shifts in religious life of the realm have provided a fruitful view of the Reformation with much opportunity to reassess its impact and duration. This thesis contributes to this project by using the way people understood the church and their contributions to it in the early modern period as a gateway into analysing how they wanted their world to look. This is where the unique combination of ecclesiastical and architectural history plays a role. The historical analysis here is not purely sited within either of these disciplines, but draws on ideas and methods from each. This fits within the overall arc of the historiography of Scotland in general, and the Reformation in particular. The joining together of ecclesiastical, social, political, and economic history laid the groundwork for bringing in other disciplines into this project. By seeing the church as both a physical and spiritual place, this thesis uncovers new insights into the history of the Reformation and of early modern life in general. The unique circumstances accompanying the construction of new church buildings provide a new dimension which complements this section of the literature.

Alexandra Walsham has brought geographical-historical analysis into the study of the Reformation, thereby strengthening the claim that the Reformation in the British Isles was a long and interconnected affair.[22] Her work has shown how the extent of physical history can reach into the spiritual world of the Reformation. To contextualise parish churches within their surroundings, concepts of geographical history are used, guided by works such as Peter McNeill and Hector MacQueen's *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*,[23] R.A. Skelton's *Imago Mundi* article, 'Bishop Leslie's Maps of Scotland, 1578'[24] and Ian Cunningham's *The Nation Survey'd*.[25] Historical geography provides further Scottish context: Ian & Kathleen Whyte's *The Changing*

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[22] Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[23] Peter G. B. McNeill and Hector L. MacQueen, *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh: Scottish Medievalists : Department of Geography, University of Edinburgh, 1996).

[24] R.A. Skelton, 'Bishop Leslie's Maps of Scotland, 1578', *Imago Mundi* 7, no. 1 (1950).

[25] Ian Campbell Cunningham and National Library of Scotland., *The Nation Survey'd : Essays on Late Sixteenth-Century Scotland as Depicted by Timothy Pont* (East Linton, East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell in association with the National Library of Scotland, 2001).

Scottish Landscape[26] and Ian Whyte's *Landscape and History since 1500*[27] provide an historical underpinning for the theoretical claims made of the landscape.

These wide-ranging discussions have left questions unanswered. The place between architecture and people is not easily defined. Buildings evoke permanence in their materiality while people are bound to their mortality. Dealing with churches allows such assumptions to be turned upside down: the styles, uses, and effects on the users of buildings shift over time, eroding any claim to permanence, while the immortality in which the Church's adherents have always believed allows a continuity of purpose, connecting people throughout history. Though many of these scholars have successfully described some of this dichotomy in their historical analyses, the questions about the value people placed on their church buildings—how those buildings sat within their cultural, institutional, social, and physical world—have not been answered.

Newly built churches

With a project such as this one, many readers will inevitably want to learn about the predominant patterns in the cultural activity of church buildings. This is not necessarily appropriate for this set of evidence. The small numbers of buildings, and geographic and chronological range resist classification according to discrete patterns and categories. Each church building story in the thesis is not entirely representative of the typical church building story in early modern Scotland. The limitations of sources and surviving documentary evidence have also precluded the possibility of establishing consistent patterns for a typical church building story. Even though there may have been aspects of the process in any given place that had characteristics in common with another place, to claim there was a set pattern would be to deny the individuality of each place and one of the major characteristics discovered in this evidence: that the localities in Scotland were where the work for these types of projects was accomplished. This project responds to this individualistic character by charting churches as they evolved across time and space, rather than attempting to produce a guidebook on what Scottish church architecture was in the period. These church buildings and their builders were peculiar to their environment, connections, and abilities. For these reasons, the thesis uses case studies

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[26] Ian Whyte and Kathleen A. Whyte, *The Changing Scottish Landscape, 1500–1800*, *History of the British Landscape* (London: Routledge, 1991).

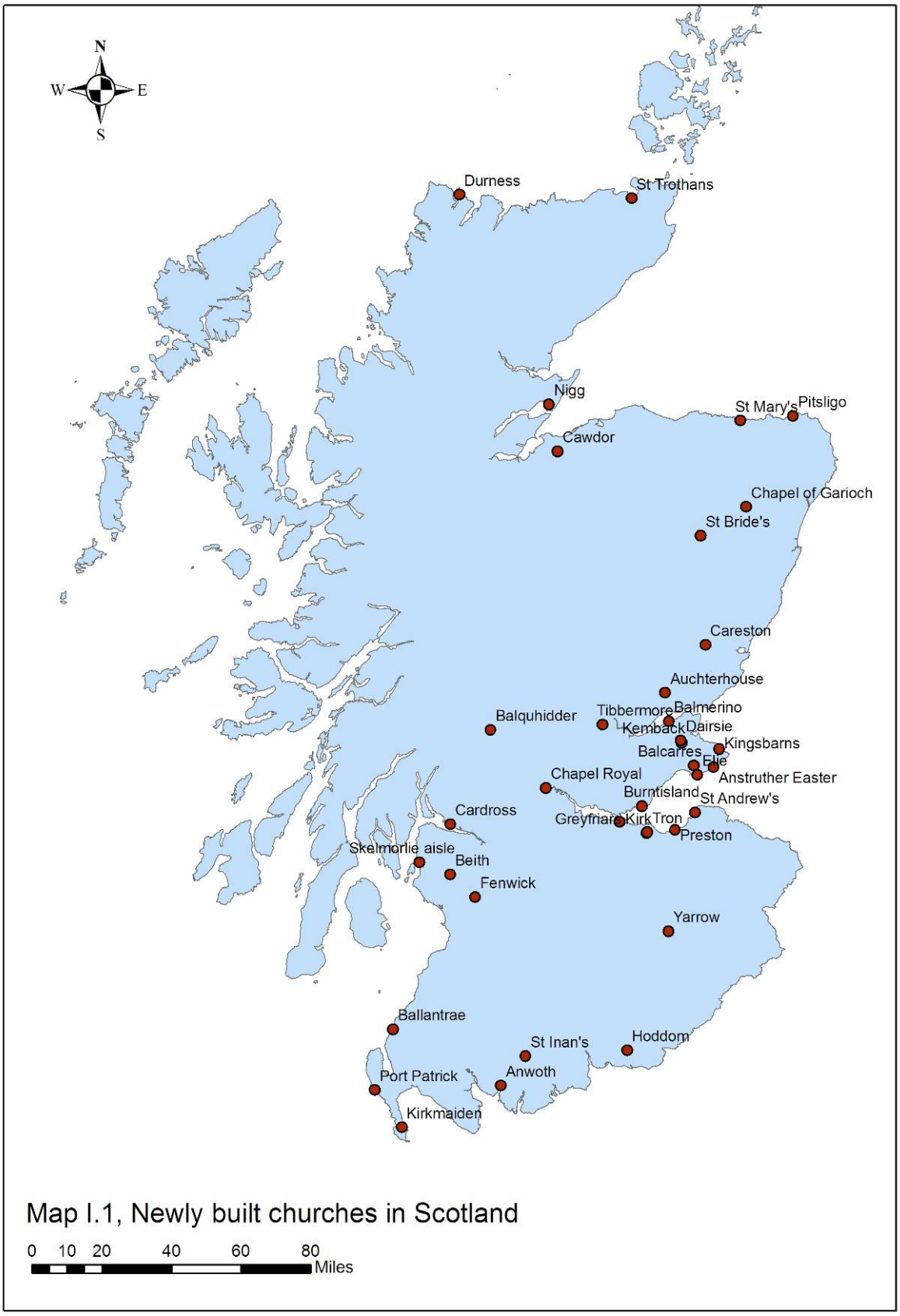
[27] Ian Whyte, *Landscape and History since 1500*, *Globalities* (London: Reaktion, 2002).

to reflect a general point and how that aspect of the systems operating in the country affected the specific circumstances of the locality in question.

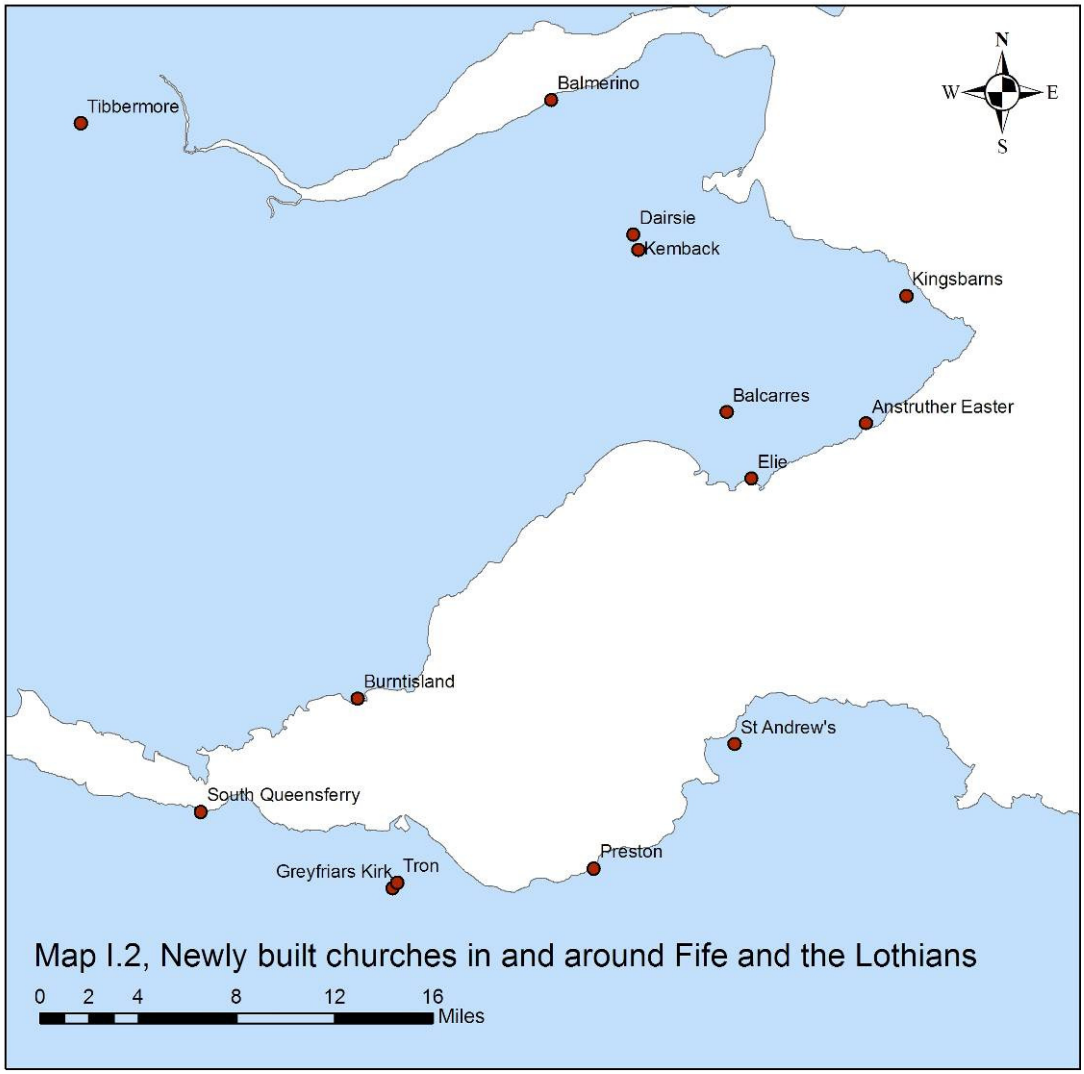
Place	*County*	*Name*	*Date*
Balmerino	Fife	Balmerino	1560
Banff	Banffshire	St Mary's	1580
Kemback	**Fife**	**Kemback**	**1582**
Burntisland	**Fife**	**Burntisland**	**1592**
Parton	**Kirkcudbrightshire**	**St Inan's**	**1592**
Stirling	**Stirlingshire**	**Chapel Royal**	**1594**
Beith	Ayrshire	Beith	1596
Prestonpans	**East Lothian**	**Preston**	**1596**
Garioch	Aberdeenshire	Chapel of Garioch	1599
Ballantrae	Ayrshire	Ballantrae	1601
Hoddom	Dumfriesshire	Hoddom	1610
Dirleton	**East Lothian**	**St Andrew's**	**1615**
Cawdor	**Nairnshire**	**Cawdor**	**1619**
Durness	**Sutherland**	**Durness**	**1619**
Edinburgh	**Midlothian**	**Greyfriars**	**1620**
Dairsie	**Fife**	**Dairsie**	**1621**
Anwoth	**Kirkcudbrightshire**	**Anwoth**	**1626**
Nigg	**Ross and Cromarty**	**Nigg**	**1626**
Port Patrick	**Wigtownshire**	**Port Patrick**	**1629**
Auchterhouse	**Angus**	**Auchterhouse**	**1630**
Kingsbarns	**Fife**	**Kingsbarns**	**1630**
Balquhidder	Perthshire	Balquhidder	1631
Tibbermore	Perthshire	Tibbermore	1632
Olrig	**Caithness**	**St Trothan's**	**1633**
South Queensferry	West Lothian	South Queensferry	1633
Pitsligo	**Aberdeenshire**	**Pitsligo**	**1634**
Anstruther Easter	**Fife**	**Anstruther Easter**	**1634**
Balcarres	Fife	Balcarres	1635
Careston	**Angus**	**Careston**	**1636**
Largs	**Ayrshire**	**Skelmorlie aisle**	**1636**
Cushnie	Aberdeenshire	St Bride's	1637
Edinburgh	**Midlothian**	**Tron**	**1637**
Kirkmaiden	**Wigtownshire**	**Kirkmaiden**	**1638**
Elie	**Fife**	**Elie**	**1639**
Yarrow	Selkirkshire	Yarrow	1640
Fenwick	**Ayrshire**	**Fenwick**	**1643**
Cardross	West Dunbartonshire	Cardross	1643

Table I.1, List of newly built churches in Scotland, 1560–1645. Churches studied in the thesis are in bold typeface.

Table I.1 lists all newly built churches in Scotland between 1560 and 1645. Enough documentary evidence survived for 24 of the buildings to provide meaningful analysis. The remaining 13 buildings lacked sufficient evidence to make a contribution. Even though each of the buildings (or their scant remains) was visited



Map I.1, Newly built churches in Scotland



Map I.2, Newly built churches in and around Fife and the Lothians

throughout the research for this thesis,[28] it soon became clear that physical remains would only give up so much evidence about the cultural history of the buildings and their contribution to the ecclesiastical world.

Maps I.1 and I.2 show the geographical spread of the church buildings, demonstrating that this project is about the whole of Scotland. There are churches from every corner of the realm: from Durness in the northwest of Sutherland to Kirkmaiden on the tip of the Mull of Galloway, and from Pitsligo in northeast Aberdeenshire to Hoddom in Dumfriesshire, and many places in between, churches were going up across most of Scotland's regions in this period. Because of this

[28] See Methods chapter, pp. 25f.

geographic and chronological spread, every type of settlement prevalent in the early modern period is also represented. These churches provide evidence about rural experience, life in small burghs, and the comparatively highly urban nature of Edinburgh in the late sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries.[29]

Chapter structure

The first chapter will describe the research and analysis methods developed for this building history. This will refer to some detail from the later chapters, but will focus on the method for collecting evidence and how that led to the main structure of the thesis: studying the people who prepared for, built, occupied, and related to new church buildings in Scotland during the period. This method lays the groundwork for the analysis of the processes that led to a church building appearing in a community.

The second chapter will set out the historical, theological, and political contexts of the years 1560 to 1645. It will touch on some of the evidence that will be presented in more detail in the later chapters when relevant. The purpose of providing these contexts is twofold: one, to allow the reader some reference point for the ensuing case studies when they encounter larger-scale movements in the realm of politics and theology; two, to highlight the importance of local events and their meaning in relation to the commonly understood events of the period. That is to say, some of the evidence asks questions of the historical consensus, especially about the Reformation and the institutions that supported its expanding reach.

The rest of the thesis will deal with these processes: Preparing, Building, Occupying, and Relating. In these chapters, case studies provide the general structure, allowing stories of individual parish churches to be the focus within a conceptual framework that has arisen from analysis of surviving evidence. Some places left much documentation relating to one or another of these steps. Other places left fuller records so that they have appeared in several of the chapters. No one church has provided a complete story of how it came to be built and created into a place that could receive the parish congregation. It was therefore necessary to use shorter examples to provide some dimension to the shape of the story of the main case studies. The main case studies are where much of the new research lies in this thesis.

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[29] The fact Edinburgh is the only one of the larger Scottish burghs represented in the list will be discussed in the Building and Relating chapters: see pp. 108ff and 174ff.

Aims

This thesis makes new claims about the Reformation—the physical expression of the theological idea of the Church was a vital part of establishing the Reformation. But because early modern people understood that expressing theological ideas in physical form was essential for the transformation of their religious life, and because of the local nature of this fact, in many places the Reformation had to be played out all over again. In places where congregations, ministers, and people with money co-operated to erect a new church building for a new parish, there was consistently a sense that the Reformation was a continuous and useful process for religious life.

The early modern institutional life of Scottish society also receives a revisionary treatment—local interests were fundamentally important for getting any work done. Despite this state of affairs, local interests always had an eye towards the bigger picture, which becomes more and more obvious in the later part of the period, when the political nation was undergoing its most enduring stresses and changes since the Reformation.

Building activity in Scotland is also seen in a novel light, especially in terms of previously neglected small-scale buildings such as parish churches. Architecture is not always the most fruitful lens through which to view historic buildings. The people who initiated, built, and used the buildings can be heard when analysing style and influence, but some of the most important connections with church and politics can only be observed when considering the building from the perspective of its initial creation and its continued use.

This thesis also adds to the discussion about the historical landscape. By placing the process of building a church and all its cultural importance within the context of the landscape, the Church (as a theological idea and as an institutional and community force) gains another significant aspect. Being aware of the landscape and other surroundings, and their relationship with historical memory is vital for understanding how a culture could be sustainable through the repeated upheavals in the ecclesiastical, political, and artistic worlds.

This thesis builds upon the historiography of the Reformation that has developed out of the major shifts of the 1960s into a discipline which is continually refining the narrative by analysing evidence in original ways. The methodological approach explained in the next chapter and exemplified in the rest of the work has contributed new understandings of Scottish and Reformation history by uncovering some of the ways early modern people used their buildings. By looking for the

purposes and consequences of the cultural utility of ecclesiastical buildings in early modern Scotland, this thesis has combined these analyses of the Reformation, of institutional life, of building work, and of the landscape into a study that is as much about life as it is about buildings.

Methods of 'Building History'

Task

The history of church buildings from seventeenth-century Scotland is laden with many actors and influences. The church as an institution has been a frequent subject of historical work, as have church buildings as architectural historical pieces. Yet by focusing on ecclesiastical developments on the one hand or architectural pedigree on the other hand, a significant aspect of Scottish culture has failed to be written into seventeenth-century history. The buildings the church occupied were living buildings. They produced and housed history that is accessible to the historian revealing the cultural concerns of early modern urban residents, workers, nobility, politicians, rulers, and clerics. In Scotland, all these people contributed to making church buildings inhabitable and workable, and their story is vital to tell. *Building history* can provide the culture to contextualize and the analysis of how buildings in turn influenced culture. By stepping back from the history of architecture to the history of buildings, it can be easier to put the people back into the history. A history of the process by which early modern Scots built new churches will be found between cultural context and buildings performing work; in the space between ecclesiastical history and architectural history.

The building of churches was not only a cultural practice in early modern Scotland; it was also a fundamentally theological activity that permitted the participation of the elite in society with a process that involved all in a parish. Even though every person in a community was not an essential part of the design, erection, and completion of a church building—far from it—each person did have a place in a church because of what the ideas about the church were. All were welcome if they conformed to the behaviours required in the Reformed mindset. But forgetting about cultural practice is not an option either: a thorough understanding of the church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries requires not only its ecclesiastical aspects, but its cultural and physical aspects as well. The history of buildings, then, requires a fusion of different methods of analysing the historical record left not only in documents and books, but in the physical structures themselves.

Cultural, ecclesiastical, and architectural history each bring a different perspective. Cultural history can be seen as analysis of the structures within society that provide shape to the lives of people throughout that society; shape that then can help to form more structures thus perpetuating consistencies in people's everyday

experiences. The notions of productive and active cultures explained in the introduction are also helpful here. The interplay between the things and institutions people produce in the face of life on the one hand and the way humans have lived with, encountered, used, and engaged with those products on the other is where that perpetuation happens. Ecclesiastical history can be seen as analysis of the institution and theology of the church as it developed alongside and within society: it could be understood as being simply a subset of cultural history if this was the only way of seeing it. Yet the spiritual reality in which adherents believed lends a particular tone to the contingency of human experience. Ecclesiastical history deals not only with the way people have encountered the institution of the church, but also with the spiritual experience of worship, repentance, mortification, redemption, and sanctification. These have been consistent beliefs for the majority of the church throughout its existence, and therefore exist partially outside culture. Yet it is the way churches in particular places deal with these ideas that forms the more human part of ecclesiastical history. Architectural history can be seen as analysis of the artistic form of designing and erecting buildings and townscapes to provide insight into the way people organised and constricted space in the past, and therefore the manner in which life in general was organised. Buildings from the past can show how people lived and what they thought was important. Further the way people designed buildings also provides essential insight into where people in the past invested their resources and how they managed to organise their wealth. Alongside the manner in which they organised their wealth and resources, the purpose of doing so can also be analysed. It is in this task that the other two types of history can provide insight.

Each of these can be combined in order to provide deeper insights. Cultural and ecclesiastical history together can show what the church meant beyond its official purpose of providing spiritual care for people; how people used the church for their own means of identification, power, and diplomacy; and how the church used people to further its purpose by ensuring a well-disciplined population. Cultural and architectural history together are interlinked when architecture is understood as a powerful cultural medium: that is, a form of expression that provides some of those structures that provide shape to ordinary life some measure of concrete reality rather than simply concepts or practices which must be passed on. Architecture as culture leaves something physical by which future generations can remember their past. Ecclesiastical and architectural history together find their simplest expression in building ordinary parish churches: this is the location of simple ecclesiastical movements and simple building styles, particularly in a mostly poor place such as

Scotland. The history of buildings can be viewed as a product of the fusion of ecclesiastical and architectural history by understanding the limits of the practicality of each of these types of analysis. Ecclesiastical history, with its insights into theology and institution, describes the substance of the use of buildings. Architectural history, with its insights into styles, influence, and modes of representation, describes the physical environment of life in the past. The people this thesis is concerned with, those who built, occupied, and related to new parish church buildings in early modern Scotland, left records of how they dealt with these twin pressures of conforming to a relatively recently adjusted theological position and providing physical space in which to be the outworking of that theological position, that is, to be the church in Scotland.

In order to accomplish this task, this thesis presents a study of the stories of people and their buildings and reveals previously undiscovered details of Scotland's history. The analysis has permitted an understanding of how and why people built, wanted, and used new parish church buildings, thus contributing to the notion that meaning and culture can be contained within the physical practice of housing spirituality. When discussing buildings communicating or holding meanings and culture there can be a danger of circularity. The argument asserts that people spend much time and resources on building, therefore they must mean a lot to those people, therefore those meanings can be perpetuated and continue with future use. The problem of this circularity is diminished because of the nature of beliefs about the Church. Permanence of meaning is an important claim within the ecclesiastical reality of the gathering of the body of Christ, even a fundamental part of the human–spiritual experience.[1] Because of this permanence, the practical act of attributing resources to the building of churches is inherently a spiritual act of edifying the Church.[2] It is important to examine the way people engaged with this possibility that buildings can hold meaning, and in particular church buildings. This chapter of the thesis explains the methods needed to gather the evidence for these actions, to analyse it, and to come to these conclusions.

The project started with the notion that comparing the situation of new church buildings in Scotland with those in other Reformed countries such as the Netherlands and France would add immeasurably to the insights into the ecclesiastical

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[1] Beliefs about the Church are discussed throughout the Contexts chapter, but especially pp. 29ff.

[2] See the examples of concept of spiritual building in scripture: Is. 28: 16, Eph. 2: 11–22, 1 Pet. 2: 4–7. See also Building chapter, pp. 99f.

contribution to cultural meaning of buildings. It soon became clear that in-depth study required sharper focus for two reasons. The first is the need to understand the culture and local situations of the places in which these new church buildings were placed. This would not be a project simply about categorising places. The second is that the analysis, if confined to one political unit such as Scotland, would allow more insight into the way the political and theological contexts of the country affected the culture of buildings. In the end, the evidence lent itself to producing a solid study of one particular place, where a comparative study would have jeopardised some of the important conclusions about the nature of early modern Scottish society by needing Scotland to be seen as a whole rather than the reality of a realm where the localities were the crucial area for an activity such as church building.

This change of focus from broad comparative international history to a more localised but connected history allowed the material to take a strong role in the decision to focus on parish churches. The list of church buildings dealt with is not exhaustive: this project is not about every single ecclesiastical building in early modern Scotland. Parishes, the local face of the Church, were the setting for new experiences for ordinary people, especially by the early seventeenth century. The theme of co-existent continuity and change fits in with a Reformation that could not afford to rebuild its plant, yet eventually came upon the problem of needing to do so in a piecemeal way. New churches were indicators of culture because of this particular characteristic; novelty was a matter of course or inevitability rather than intrinsically linked with Reformation.

Methods

New church buildings became the central focus of this thesis as a consequence of a particular understanding of the Reformation. One of the best ways to understand the effect of the Scottish Reformation on the people who lived through it and their subsequent history is to regard it as a process of introducing novel experiences into an existing culture.[3] During this period, the shifts in their society's Christian worldview had direct consequences on how people went about building churches. The institutional, societal, and liturgical changes ushered in by the Reformation necessitated a new way of building churches: by looking at new churches in particular

[3] This is not to say that the theological ideas underpinning these new experiences were necessarily innovations (a termed despised by mainstream Reformers throughout Europe). However, the people who made up the first few generations after the Reformation were dealing with the effects of experiences their ancestors had not dealt with before.

these changes can be assessed in relation to the actual buildings on the ground. A culture of novelty can be described as a way new objects and spaces contribute to the less-tangible structures of society that help to perpetuate social relationships. This level of cultural history is accessible if the evidence is approached with the proper method. Combining observation of buildings and interpretation of documents has led to separating this narrative into step-by-step processes that describe how this novelty became a reality for people within their own locality. The problem when considering buildings as historical sources is that they are not simply documents. They do not only represent the production of a specific place. Buildings—because of their state as artistic, social, and physical novelties—inevitably create and direct social relationships.[4] Buildings are part of history not as a backdrop or as a theatrical set, but as significant environments and agents that develop the relationships between the people who build them, use them, and are constrained by them. It is for precisely these reasons that they can offer such a valuable insight into the reasons people did what they did.

By studying new parish churches between 1560 and 1645, and looking not only for architectural development, liturgical change, and disciplinary use, but also for economic and political utility, we can see some of the major aspects of Scottish history reflected in their development and use. This leads to the possibility of filling in the gaps left in the current discussion about the relationship between culture and buildings. To uncover the way people expressed their culture in a shifting manner, almost year by year, it was important to delineate the difference between a building as a finished product and as a process. The culture of interaction with a building changes throughout its life: from when it was conceived to when it had occupied the same spot for centuries. The categories of Preparing, Building, Occupying, and Relating describe the different stages in a building's life in relationship with those who live with it and are described in separate chapters that form the main structure of the thesis.

'Preparing' will show how the laity in Scotland had long-term interests in mind when seeking to start building a new church. In the turbulent times of the period, people knew they would have to negotiate several levels of bureaucracy before being able to build their church. The preparation process shows patience and determination and a fundamentally seventeenth-century view of time and process. 'Building' will describe and analyse the process of building a church. This includes design, building materials, length of time to put up a building, commissioning of the

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[4] Hills, *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, p. 6.

interior, furnishings, and choice of how the church would sit within a settlement, be it a burgh, village, or countryside. Analysing this step in the process is important because it shows how people got involved with paying for the building and how they contributed to the idea of having a church. In 'Occupying', the stage where people moved into their building and expressed anticipation for good things to come is described. Their occupying established a culture in church. Church became permanent for them: they created ownership over their space, especially if they had been involved in the previous two parts of the process. In occupying a building, church truly became a place where culture could grow. The 'Relating' chapter will describe and analyse how people in churches connected themselves and their buildings to the outside physical world of landscape and urban environment. The possibility that memory, image, and history can be understood as environments for physical structures becomes clear here as well. The main argument will come together here: relating will be the apex of process, because only in seeing how buildings related to their environments do contexts truly provide meaning for buildings. Only in relationship did the building and its occupants start to live and be affected by their contexts.

These stages in the process of a building's introduction into and life in a place are useful for understanding the culture of building because they connect the people (that is, those whose actions, products, and behaviours constitute culture) and the building. They dictate, even though they are not strict categories, the way people were organised within the confines of the building project. There was a movement within this process. A building frequently developed, going through these general stages. At first it was an elite project organised and executed by the wealthier and more powerful members of society. Then came the time for anticipation of how it would become the centre of a community, a place of worship, and a venue for discipline. The church would soon develop out of that anticipatory place to be for all within a parish and any legitimate visitor. Eventually the permanence of a church would mean its position as a receptacle for memory and history would be almost as important as the soaring tower marking the community for miles around.

Documentary research

Studying the church buildings and their surrounding communities required making a list of new churches built during the period. This was constructed by using existing lists in works by George Hay, Nigel Yates, and Andrew Spicer. These were compared with other databases, especially from the Royal Commission on the

Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), and the details available within the Buildings of Scotland series. The RCAHMS database offers an initial survey of the physical state of the buildings, often with a progression of field visits through the twentieth century, which include visits by the RCAHMS and the Ordnance Survey. For example, Burray kirk in Orkney attracted the commission in 1930 and 1946, and the Ordnance Survey visited in 1973. The descriptions often corroborate past visits. The OS description reads: "'St Laurence's Church' is described and planned by RCAHMS. The burial ground has been extended and is still in use." The RCAHMS descriptions reads:

> The roofless ruin of St Lawrence's Church, oriented E-W, is oblong on plan and measures 50ft x 21ft 9in over walls varying in width from 3ft 2in to 3ft 7 1/2in and 8ft 6in high. The south wall contains the doorway near its W end and two original windows. There are no openings in the N wall but there is a window high up in the W and E gables; a second window, built up, is in the E gable at a lower level and is probably an insertion. The date 1621 is incised on the NW skewput and a late building abuts the SW corner of the church.[5]

These are useful data to understand the present state of the building, its dimensions, any important architectural features, and significant dating information. The physical descriptions were helpful in determining which sites were worthwhile or necessary for fieldwork. The descriptions invariably provide at least one date in the life of the building.

Because this project was from the beginning focused not only on physical buildings, but also on their settings, both environmental and historical, it was fundamental to the research method to conduct as much archival work as possible. The RCAHMS database entries list available documents in the National Archives of Scotland (NAS), such as Anstruther Easter's record. It refers to GD63/122, which is a royal letter to Charles I's council about the burgh's building project, and RH1/2/576, which is an extract of the records of the convention of royal burghs granting Anstruther Easter 3,000 merks to build the church in 1635.[6] This began the process of archival research. Most of the material for the narrative history sections of the

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[5] RCAHMS Canmore database: *Burray, Southtown, St Lawrence's Church*, site No. ND49NE 6 (Edinburgh, 2011) http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/9580/details/burray+southtown+st+lawrence+s+church/ accessed 17 October 2011.

[6] Letter, superscribed 'Charles R', addressed to his Council concerning the church being built in Anstruther by Sir William Anstruther, now nearing completion. Sir William has asked that it might be disjoined from Kilrenny and the King refers the matter to the Council for decision, 1640–1641. Papers of Phineas Bell Brander, Edinburgh solicitor. NAS GD63/122; General Convention of Burghs Grants Anstruther Easter 3,000 merks, 11 July 1635. Miscellaneous papers and charters. NAS RH1/2/576.

thesis was found within the National Archives of Scotland. The most common form of documentation that was available for these churches was the kirk session records. Reading these records has provided crucial insight into the day-to-day life of the congregations in question. Despite the fact they are mainly concerned with discipline, the meetings occasionally dealt with practical matters of the church building. This is especially the case in records which were created alongside the building project. There are not many such complete sets surviving in the archives. When they do, as in the case of Elie parish kirk in Fife, they provide an essential look into the way the ministers, sessions, and congregations dealt with new buildings within the context of establishing a new parish. This case is taken up fully in the Occupying chapter.

Other records, found mostly in the Gifts & Deposits series of the NAS (such as the Anstruther Easter record mentioned above), provided many financial details for the bulk of the churches. These documents were for the most part papers of the noblemen and lairds who financed the building of the churches in question, owned the tacks on the teinds, paid the ministers who served the cures, and had rights over the patronage of the churches. Because ecclesiastical patronage was an important property right in early modern Scotland, these records often survive as business documents. One of the limitations of these records is that more often than not they survive significantly when there is a dispute over those rights. It is entirely possible, therefore, that some of the documentary record is skewed to favour church stories where dispute was at the heart of establishing a new church. By drawing on other sources and observations, especially the conclusions made possible by extensive fieldwork, it is hoped that any imbalance has been diminished.

Fieldwork

Fieldwork for this research involved visiting churches on the main list to observe and understand their state, position, and surroundings. The RCAHMS database and other online databases such as Scottish Church Heritage were helpful in determining which churches were still in a state where a visit would be helpful. By conducting a survey of the existing information and photographs it was possible to determine which churches needed a site visit. Usable and accessible photographs existed for some churches, but in many cases the information about the position of the building within its setting did not include enough detail to make a full analysis possible. The Buildings of Scotland series was particularly helpful in this regard. With only a little experience of reading entries in these heavily detailed works, the

conclusion is quickly reached that the writers do not include all the potential detail of their own research. This is particularly the case with the relationship between buildings and their surroundings. Much is left to the reader to infer in the common 'Perambulations' sections, which list buildings in the order someone walking along a street or lane would come to them. One drawback of these perambulatory encouragements is that the writers extract churches and other public buildings from these sections. Thus the Buildings of Scotland series, though an invaluable resource, could not provide the detailed observation needed for this project, especially when it came to the relationships between churches and their environments.

By combining the possibilities for documentary research and field observation, an initial list of churches to visit was established. This strategy ran the risk of missing some insights, as would any research method working solely from a list and not taking in some peripheral detail along the way. Although the list provided the main guide, some other churches were visited. These included, for example, entirely ruined churches or those not strictly within the definition of newly built during the period. However, they had received some major work during the period. Though eventually they were not included in the thesis, the fieldwork was useful for two reasons. The first was that this broader selection of early modern building work gave some context to the styles that were developing for new church buildings.[7] The second was to pinpoint the need to focus on entirely new buildings. The task of distinguishing between what constituted major work and what was more cosmetic or minor, and the ensuing cultural value of such distinctions, would have unbalanced the thesis. It would also have led into the materials- and style-based architectural history instead of the cultural 'building history' I was investigating.

During the site visits to the churches a range of photographs were taken including features such as date stones, particular window and door frame styles, blocked up windows and doors, towers, and the building's footprint. Just as important as these physical features were the settings of the churches in relation to the town, burgh, village, or rural environment they were in. Questions in mind when observing a building included how it sits when seen from afar, how it fits in with the other buildings in the settlement, where the architectural focus of the building was, and what changes were evidently caused by shifts in the surrounding settlement. When it was possible to visit the buildings' interiors, this was arranged. There are

[7] See Building chapter, p. 115, for an example about stylistic similarities in one structural element of several churches in Aberdeenshire.

very few examples of churches with any remnant of furniture or fittings from the period. Yet in several churches, the structure of the building has not changed enough to prevent recognition of where the pulpit, pews, and communion table would have been arranged. In some of the T-plan churches this is particularly the case, where the position of the laird's loft is abundantly evident in comparison with the rest of the church. In the few cases where important examples of early modern furniture do survive, these were noted.

Once the different types of data had been collected they were carefully collated and analysed, and the importance of the particular stories from each building and locality was recognised. This analysis suggested that the evidence was best presented as a series of separate chapters to highlight the importance of the processual steps in building a church. The case studies embedded within the chapters offer particular examples of church building stories within the context of their localities, emphasising the distinctions between the stages of the process. By using this approach to examine these buildings, documents, and stories through the lens of 'building history', the people and their culture have been understood in a way that connects them more thoroughly with their built environment, thus contributing to the potential for meaning and culture to have a significant place for buildings.

Historical and theological contexts

The institutional and ideological structures that gave shape to early modern Scottish society heavily impacted how church buildings were built. Buildings can provide insight into every time period by revealing the manner in which people engaged with the contexts that surrounded these buildings. The value invested in the physical and symbolical endeavour of building a church always arose from with the context of its own society. For church buildings the most relevant institutional and conceptual contexts were the Church itself; its theological underpinning; how the Church related to its development throughout the realm and how it related to the political world. A section about theology will explain the foundational concepts of what and who constituted the Church in early modern Scotland. The organisational outcome of theological ideas resulted in shifts in how the Church functioned, how its members expressed themselves artistically, and how they worshipped. These aspects of ecclesiastical history give grounding to the theological ideas about ecclesiology, sacraments, and worship. Developments in politics, especially changes in the exercise of power, are also explored, providing an explanation of how the politico-theological world of early modern Scotland related to the project of extending the Church.

Why theology is important for building history

New theology, new buildings

The Reformation in Scotland produced a significant amount of new theology diverging from the existing way of thinking that had dominated the Church since at least the thirteenth century. The overturning of the existing theological order in Scotland can be seen in the Scots Confession of Faith of 1560. The subsequent First and Second Books of Discipline provided guidelines for creating a Reformed ecclesiological structure in Scotland. Scottish Reformers drew upon numerous sources for these documents of Protestant thought: the continental Reformers in Geneva, Zurich, and Wittenburg were the most prominent. By the early seventeenth century the ensuing domestication of theology from the continent resulted in what has been characterised as a Reformed country. The supposed theological consensus rested on the intellectual position of most of the ecclesiastical organisation in Scotland combined with the cultural milieu that had grown out of this Reformed theology: that of a well-disciplined and consistently preached-to parish-level Church. There was not complete consensus, however; significant areas of Scotland such as the northeast were being led in different theological directions in ecclesiological and

sacramental ways, that is in how the Church was governed and how it expressed its worship. The controversies that grew up in the seventeenth century about what the Reformed Church should be reflect differing understandings of God and his role in the world, the Church, and the government of the nation. Those differing understandings then led to a changed culture: people's habits were affected in tangible ways by the manner they interpreted God to be acting in their lives.

Ecclesiology

Ecclesiology, or the doctrine of the Church, was of utmost importance to the sixteenth-century Reformers who established Protestantism in Scotland and to their seventeenth-century successors who would refine definitions of Protestant theology in subsequent intellectual debate. Who was inside and who was outside the Church affected everything: how preaching was understood, how the sacraments were administered, how worship functioned, and how the polity and discipline of the Church were carried out. The theological basis of ecclesiology even affected how the people who built and used churches acted in taking their decisions. The physical extent of the Church of Scotland and its maintenance or expansion served a particular purpose within the doctrine of the Church. The covering of the entire kingdom of Scotland with suitable parish churches was a necessity that was derived from a theological position. The kirk invisible, though not confined to a particular place, needed a physical presence in which to be the kirk visible. Because of the continuing debates over the very subject of ecclesiology throughout our period, the practical functioning of church-building should be analysed in light of theological uncertainty. There is much sermon-based and devotional evidence from the period to demonstrate strongly that ordinary people understood the need to be placed firmly on either side of a spiritual division: in or out. The finer theological intricacies of how to confirm this status probably mattered very little to the ordinary believer in church, yet assurance of salvation was a mainstay of devotional life. Their devotional certainty lay within the sacraments and their participation at church, and how these related to each other.

For John Knox and the Reformers, there being one Church was an essential article of faith, not simply an outworking or sign of their faith, and essential for salvation. Salvation could only happen within the true Church, based on faith in Jesus' resurrection; in this was the essence of the doctrine that there were two aspects

of the Church: visible and invisible.[1] But the spiritual essence of the Church is in the entire existence of Christ, in his death and resurrection, and his coming again in glory. Christ 'is the "Glory of the sacred temple", but the temple here is not tied to place or to the institutions of history. It is the blessed society which was wondrously joined to Jesus Christ. It is the Church as *community* which takes the place of the Old Testament temple.'[2] This theological statement about the Church being community was especially relevant for early modern Scots, as for many of them their local parish church was co-terminous with their community. Whether or not they knew it, their community of believers, when united with Christ properly, was the place of the Church.

For the Reformers, the doctrine of the Church was closely linked to the doctrine of the sacraments. The person of Christ and his saving work were at the foundation of this connection, as they provided the reason for believers to participate in the sacraments and the structure whereby through that participation they could attain membership in his Church. It is in the person of Christ and his place within the Godhead that all the security of salvation, represented in participation in the sacraments and the Church, becomes available to believers.

Sacramental theology

This important link between the sacraments and ecclesiology meant that the actions of any particular church within the universal Church mattered to each believer. The spiritual importance of the local, then, can be understood by looking at the sacraments in closer detail. Their role in the spiritual life of local churches, as expressed in the theology and worship surrounding them, contributes to the theological function of the place where they were enacted. John Knox lent his support to a form of liturgy which he considered representative of the state of Scottish ecclesiastical unity in the 1560s. Though there were attempts at unity, there was less enthusiasm for explicit uniformity.[3] In the years after the Reformation, the general consensus that a form of worship which indicated how and when to preach the Word, administer the sacraments, guide the 'conversation of life', and lead prayers

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[1] Thomas F. Torrance, *Scottish Theology: From John Knox to John Mcleod Campbell* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996), p. 27.

[2] Ibid., p. 28.

[3] A.C. Cheyne, 'Worship in the Kirk: Knox, Westminster, and the 1940 Book', in *Reformation and Revolution : Essays Presented to the Very Reverend Principal Emeritus Hugh Watt*, ed. Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1967), p. 73.

properly was required to keep the Church in the right worship of God. This was the Book of Common Order.[4] This provided the initial guide for local churches in Scotland for how to be part of the universal Church.

The sacraments

The theologians of the immediate post-Reformation period in Scotland considered the sacraments to be of utmost importance. Their understanding and practice of the ceremonies that Christ had instituted formed the basis for worship in the Church. They were not simple ceremonies, but actions that brought the grace, companionship, and salvation of God closer to the believer in a spiritual and physical sense. Certainly, there was much negative definition about what was a sacrament, given the centrality the Reformers placed on the errors they saw in Roman Catholic doctrine about sacraments; however, they also defined these acts positively:

> And thir Sacramentes, as well of Auld as of New Testament, now instituted of God, not onelie to make ane visible difference betwixt his people and they that wes without his league: Bot also to exerce the faith of his Children, and, be participation of the same Sacramentes, to seill in their hearts the assurance of his promise, and of that most blessed conjunction, union and societie, quhilk the elect have with their head *Christ Jesus*.[5]

The sacraments existed and were administered to tell God's people about their own history in relationship with the Triune God, their position as the Church within the world, the resilience of their faith when buttressed by the power of the sacraments, and the potential for the people and their God to approach one another as a result of that history, ecclesiology, and faith. Even more, their right use reflected the very nature of God, engaging in the trinitarian and christological aspects of who God is: 'Both Baptism and the Lord's Supper are first and foremost acts of God himself

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[4] *The Psalmes of David in Meeter, with the Prose, Whereunto Is Added Prayers Commonly Vsed in the Kirke, and Private Houses: With a Perpetuall Kalendar, and All the Changes of the Moone That Shall Happen for the Space of Xix Yeeres to Come. Duelie Calculated to the Meridian of Edinbvrgh*, (Edinbvrgh: Andro Hart, *Cum Privilegio Regiae Majestatis*, 1611), pp. 7–10. Hereafter, *Book of Common Order*. The acute awareness of a newly Reformed notion of the Church as a functioning body is critical. This edition of the Book of Common Order has been chosen because it is from the middle of our period, and is representative of use at the time. It was also the last edition to which the catechism was appended. Further, there is no substantial difference between it and the 1587, 1594, and 1602 editions. For historical background of the Scottish rite of the Lord's Supper, contained within the *Book of Common Order* see Cheyne, 'Worship', p. 71, William Cowan, *A Bibliography of the Book of Common Order and Psalm Book of the Church of Scotland, 1556-1644* (Edinburgh: Private printing, 1913), p. 35, William McMillan, *The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church, 1550–1638* (London: James Clarke, 1931), pp. 57–58.

[5] Scots Confession of Faith, article 21: Arthur C. Cochrane, *Reformed Confessions of the 16th Century* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966).

through Christ and in the Holy Spirit; and both Baptism and the Lord's Supper convey and seal to the believing participant conjunction and union with Christ.'[6] The close connection between the sacraments and the very being of God was part of the reason the Reformers struggled so much against incorrect sacramental thought and use.

Baptism

Baptism was the sacrament through which believers were ingrafted into Christ, according to John Knox and his successors. The sacrament united the believer with Christ and provided a means of grace for the believer to be marked out as part of the Church, as one who had entered into the covenant. This membership in the spiritual Church was of utmost importance for the believer; here is one of the prime connections between ecclesiology and sacrament. The need for baptism to be administered in public, in the face of the congregation, was to support this joining of the believer into the community itself. There was no consideration that this sacrament should be limited to adults, however: children, being a part of God's covenant and promise, 'ought not to be defrauded of those holy signs and badges whereby his children are knowen from Infidells and Pagans'.[7] Their inclusion in the Church meant they deserved the outward signs of that membership.

By 1644 the theological project of attempting to unify the churches in the three kingdoms of the British Isles had produced common guidelines for worship. The Westminster Directory represented the summation of Presbyterian teaching about the Church; this document presented a version of the doctrine of baptism that had reacted to the changes in the 1610s and 1620s and the acceptance of private baptism in the Five Articles of Perth. Because of the way the Directory was designed, it did not give particular words as instructions. It was not a set liturgy or even as proscriptive as the Book of Common Order that had previously been in use in Scotland. The instructions, therefore, for the baptism service were an outline of what the minister should teach the congregation when witnessing a baptism. A baptism, which had to be done in the face of the congregation to prevent any possibility that it should be allowed in private, was a didactic occasion for the minister to drive home

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[6] Torrance, *Scottish Theology*, p. 36.

[7] John Knox, *The Works of John Knox*, ed. David Laing, 6 vols., vol. 4 (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1895), p. 187. This also represented a deliberate exclusion of the Anabaptist position.

the importance of this sacrament in the believer's place in relation to God, Christ, and the Church.

Baptism is first 'a Seal of the Covenant of grace, or our ingraffing into Christ, and of our Union with him, of Remission of sins, Regeneration, Adoption, and Life eternal'.[8] The sacrament unites the history of salvation with the believer in the present. The metaphor of the seal engages with the physical nature of this action: in worldly terms, a seal was the confirmation, proof, or evidence, there for all to see, that those taking part in an agreement had borne witness to its outcomes. The metaphor highlights baptism's role as one of the pieces of evidence that a person is participating in God's covenant of grace, that he or she has accepted the grace of God, attaining 'Remission of sins, Regeneration, Adoption, and Life eternal'.[9] Baptism is therefore not simply the beginning of the process of becoming united with Christ: it is also an outcome of that process. The outward evidence of baptism is the water, which represents the blood of Christ and the sanctifying Holy Spirit. Here this dualism of the sacrament of baptism, being the beginning and an outcome, is also present. Christ's blood takes away the sin of the believer, both original sin and current sin, therefore the water represents the moment when the believer first became clean. At the same time, the Spirit edifies and continually sanctifies the believer so that the power of sin in his or her life is diminished, which eventually leads to the mortification of sin and full participation in the life of God through Christ.

Yet this leads the theology of baptism into a rather individualistic faith life for the believer. So far the seal of the covenant is mostly about the union between believer and God, without much reference to the application of this doctrine in the Church or the world. This trouble is overcome by the overwhelming purpose of baptism, that of initiating children into the Church through this sacrament. The Directory states, 'the Promise is made to Beleevers and their seed, and that the seed and posterity of the faithfull, born within the Church, have by their birth, interest in the covenant, and right to the Seale of it, and to the outward Priviledges of the Church under the Gospel'.[10] This echoes the earlier sacramental language of the

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[8] *A Directory for the Publique Worship of God Throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Together with an Ordinance of Parliament for the Taking Away of the Book of Common-Prayer: And for Establishing and Observing of This Present Directory Throughout the Kingdomes of England, and Dominion of Wales, with Propositions Concerning Church-Government, and Ordination of Ministers*, (London: T.R. and E.M. for the Company of Stationers, 1650), p. 29.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

Book of Common Order, providing continuity between sixteenth- and seventeenth-century understandings of how the theology of the Church functioned in respect of who God is and how his covenant surpasses the human understanding of generations and beliefs. The Directory timidly approaches the notion that children have a special interest in the covenant of their ancestors. The argument was made that the children of Abraham were the conduit through which the covenant would be revealed to the world; therefore the power of God to work beyond generations in the interest of the divine relationship with humankind is guaranteed and evident in the history of humanity. Jesus emphasised the special place of children when he embraced and blessed them, welcoming them by saying that the Kingdom of God belonged to such as them. This position was to reassure people that children could participate in the spiritual life, yet not that they were dependent on the sacraments in such a way that damnation would result if the ceremonies were not applied. The spiritual life they could participate in through the sacrament of baptism would lead to their being 'solemnly received into the bosome of the visible Church, distinguished from the world, and them that are without, and united with beleevers'.[11] One of the most important parts of baptism, then, was to set people apart as the Church. So the minister was to teach 'That they are Christians and faederally holy before Baptisme, and therefore are they baptized. [And] That the inward grace and vertue of Baptisme is not tied to that very moment of time wherein it is administred'.[12] The idea that people participated in a two-way covenant in order to satisfy God's need for obedience allowed a strong place for the Church and its role as the environment for people to enjoy God's grace. It allowed the theology of baptism to be more fully applied throughout the Church as a mark of the covenanted people, to separate the Church from the world. Because the grace of God led believers to be baptised, rather than the other way around, the Directory had to deal with the erroneous belief baptism conferred grace. This was a type of sacramental theology of hard-edged spirituality, not allowing any room for interpretations that leaned toward the mystical and magical. In the theology of the Westminster Directory, the visible Church was clearly identifiable because of the sacrament of baptism.

This fact, this separation, brought together the notions of sealing believers as part of the covenant and initiating them into an existing physical and earthly community. The Church was therefore summed up in baptism because its visible and

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[11] Ibid., pp. 29–30.

[12] Ibid., p. 30.

invisible natures were highlighted in the sacrament. The spiritual solace that Christ could provide by washing away the sins of believers and providing the means to withstand the onslaught of future sin would direct believers towards one another in a further strengthening of the Church against the world. This gave them the ability to attain the goal that 'all who are baptized in the Name of Christ, do renounce and by their Baptisme are bound to fight against the Devil, the World, and the Flesh'.[13] Again, this hard-edged spirituality left no room for wrong interpretation. Baptism was needed, but not so needed that believers' souls or those of their parents were in danger if the child was denied access: 'outward Baptisme is not so necessary, that through the want thereof the Infant is in danger of Damnation, or the Parents guilty, if they do not contemn or neglect the Ordinance of Christ, when and where it may be had'.[14] There was clearly a duty to baptise in order to provide the benefits of union with Christ and participation in his Church, but only if the situation allowed it. This was to prevent the belief that emergency baptism was necessary and possible in private, away from the congregation. The sacrament was not so powerful as to be an absolute foundation of faith. It was a means of grace to provide the ideal state for the believer. This ideal state of being in communion with Christ and with other believers would be played out within the context of the other sacrament, that of the Lord's Supper.

Lord's Supper

The Lord's Supper was the sacrament for the Reformers that truly forged the link between Christ and the believer, because it could be repeated again and again, and became the basis for a healthy spiritual life. In contrast to baptism, which initiated the union of believer to Christ, the Eucharist was the means of grace to attach the believer continually to Christ.

Robert Bruce was one of the typical late-sixteenth-century preacher-theologians of Scotland who showed a strong commitment to making the Reformed doctrines of the Church accessible to his flock. In 1589 Bruce preached five sermons at St Giles' in Edinburgh that outlined precisely how communicants came to be conjoined with Christ in the mystical union of the Eucharist.[15] In these exhortations,

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid. This was in direct opposition to previous Roman Catholic orthodoxy.

[15] Robert Bruce and T. F. Torrance, *The Mystery of the Lord's Supper : Sermons on the Sacrament Preached in the Kirk of Edinburgh in A.D. 1589* (London: J. Clarke, 1958).

Bruce was able to explain clearly and concisely how the divinity of God in Christ was communicated to people through the sacrament and how people could be assured of that communication and conjunction, and what behaviour was needed to bring about such assurance. Most importantly, the sacraments and the preaching that accompanied them were subjugated to the Spirit: 'But there is one thing that you must always remember: there is no doctrine either of the simple Word or the Sacraments, that is able to move us if Christ takes away His Holy Spirit.'[16] By including the Holy Spirit in the concept of union with Christ, Bruce gave people something tangible to hold onto when thinking about how the Son and Spirit related. For the spiritual conjunction with the Son was simpler for people to grasp: the goal in communion was to assimilate Christ's saving action into a believer's spiritual heart. Though they understood that was the goal, they perhaps did not understand the means. Here Bruce was telling them that the means were fully contained within Christ's will and person, that his relationship within the Trinity was fundamental to efficacious sacraments. The sacraments were not actually about what was going on with the believer:

> The main lesson to be learned from this, as far as I can see, is the lesson of the kindness and goodness of the ever-living God who has invented so many wonderful modes of conjunction, all in order that we might be conjoined to Him, and that this great and mystical conjunction between the God of glory and us may be increased. It is in this conjunction alone that our weal, felicity and happiness in this life and in the life to come, consist: that He is so careful to conjoin Himself with His Word and Sacraments that we, in His Word and Sacraments may be conjoined with Him.[17]

The sacraments were more about who God is and what God could provide to the believer through the Father's grace, the Son's atonement, and the Spirit's indwelling. The sacrament made these things real for believers, and provided the reason for any potential 'weal, felicity and happiness' in the human life, both earthly and spiritual. Conjunction with Christ was therefore presented as a means and a goal in real life. Purity in worship permitted the widest possible potential for the believer to be conjoined with Christ: the fear of the power of wrong doctrine was at the heart of this search for purity.

Worship and doctrine were linked because there was a distinct possibility that people might fail in their potential as candidates for being joined with Christ if they

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[16] Ibid., p. 39.

[17] Ibid., pp. 55–56.

believed something incorrect about the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. There were two dangerous aspects of this possibility: failing to receive God's grace and failing to understand the relationship between the spiritual and physical motions happening during the action. For Bruce, the second aspect was a distinct concern, while the first was certainly concerning for him, others following him (who would evolve Scottish theology into the federal theology coming from the Reformed churches on the Continent) would consider interrupting God's covenants of works and grace as being much more damaging to the believer. Before reaching into covenantal thinking, Bruce clearly laid out the more basic tenets of the physical and spiritual motions of the Lord's Supper:

> As I told you, there is no instrument, either hand or mouth, by which we may lay hold of Christ, but faith alone. As Christ, who is the thing signified, is grasped by the hand and mouth of faith, so the sign, which signifies Christ, is grasped by our own natural mouth and hand. You have a mouth in your heads, and in your bodies, which is the proper instrument by which to lay hold of Christ. Thus the sign and the signified are offered and given, not to one instrument, but to two, the one to the mouth of the body, the other to the mouth of the soul.[18]

The concern that Bruce addressed with this instruction was the belief in transubstantiation. He confronted the argument head on: saying the actual actions of participating in the communion, eating the bread and grasping Christ in spirit, are carried out with distinct instruments. There is no mixture between the bread the believer eats and the Christ towards whom the believer's soul spiritually moves. The mystery of the sacrament is contained within this relationship between the sign and the signified in Reformed theology as explained by Robert Bruce.

In the Lord's Supper, the Scottish Reformers had a ceremony and theology that made a stark differentiation between the physical and the spiritual lives of believers. The spiritual means and result of the sacrament were the most important part of the action. Yet the physical aspect of the action was also fully necessary for the sacrament to function, for without the sign the signified became far too removed from the setting of worship to make any real sense to the people. Within the Scots Confession, the sacraments were held to be essential for making the faith visible. Through that visibility the faith of believers became assured through the promise of God. If then the physical aspect of the sacrament was vital to the theological functioning of the whole action, there can be no doubt that the Reformers wanted their congregations to engage in a type of belief that emphasised certain aspects of the

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[18] Ibid., p. 61.

physical life. These were not empty signs left without connection to the spiritual grasping through faith that believers managed through that physical act. The Lord's Supper, then, had to be located in a place: not to say a particular place was essential. But part of what the post-Reformation understanding of the Church was that its visible part was located in the world, for all the world to see.

Now the Westminster Directory maintained essentially the same sacramental theology when it came to the Lord's Supper as had evolved by Bruce's time. There had been intervening theologians who differed on the manner of the believer's union with Christ through the Eucharist, but by 1644, these ideas had been eschewed in favour of a return to the type of spiritual union espoused by Bruce and his contemporaries in the late sixteenth century. The Directory encouraged ministers to do the following in manner of blessing the bread and wine during the service of the Lord's Supper:

> Earnestly to pray to God the father of all mercies, and God of all consolation, to vouchsafe his gracious presence, and the effectual working of his spirit in us, and so to sanctifie the Elements both of Bread and wine, and to blesse his own Ordinance, that we may receive by Faith the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ crucified for us, and so to feed upon him, that he may be one with us, and we with him, that he may live in us, and we in him, and to him, who hath loved us, and given himselfe for us.[19]

The Directory wanted to emphasise the availability of both elements to all, the sanctifying power of them when administered correctly, and finally that God was the one who blessed the ordinance and gave it any substantial power. The power God revealed through the sacrament was the ability that ordinary people had to receive Christ's blessings by faith.

The availability of both elements of the sacrament was specifically highlighted as an essential part of the action, when the Directory instructed the minister to include in the prayer of thanksgiving over the elements the following: 'for this Sacrament in particular, by which Christ and all his benefits are applied and sealed up unto us, which notwithstanding the denial of them unto others, are in great mercy continued unto us, after so much and long abuse of them all.'[20] The Church was corporately thankful that it had access to the full sacrament of the Lord's Supper, not only because of the social and cultural power that depriving ordinary believers of it

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[19] *Westminster Directory*, p. 36.

[20] Ibid., p. 35.

could have, but also because of the spiritual danger imposed on the ministry if they were seen to be denying believers the sacrament for no appropriate reason.

The thanksgiving for the elements was also meant to underline the Church's devotion to Christ: the entire spiritual reason for the earthly community of the Church was to provide the venue for salvation through faith in Christ. The Church existed

> To professe that there is no other name under heaven, by which we can be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ, by whom alone we receive liberty and life, have accesse to the throne of Grace, are admitted to eat and drink at his own Table, and are sealed up by his Spirit to an assurance of happinesse and everlasting life.[21]

The thanksgiving prayer was one of the most important moments in the service of the Lord's Supper for people to understand just what they were participating in, both physically and spiritually. The access the Directory speaks of was one of the most important goals for people in the seventeenth century: further, almost as important as the goal was the assurance they were on their way there. The throne of Grace was what people wanted, and the sacraments provided the means to be reassured they could get there.

Sacraments and the Church

The ecclesiology of the visible and invisible Church was fundamental to the function of the sacraments. The sacraments helped to hold these two understandings of the Church together because they brought the spiritual reality of Christ acting in the hearts of believers right into the face of any worshipping group. After the Reformation, Scottish theologians, ministers, and congregations would have wanted to be seen as completely connected with the historic community of believers who had worshipped God through time in the purest way. For many in the Scottish Church, the sacraments were the way there. These rites were the ordinances of grace becoming the incarnate Word, and through proclaiming the Word in the Gospel the Church can be called from death to life, out of history because its being is outside itself—true Church is founded only in Christ, not in any tradition, therefore it is not new, not innovative.[22] The manner in which this happened, this step from preaching the Word to people becoming the Church in the ecclesiological sense, was through the sacraments. They could be part of the visible Church because the sacraments

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[21] Ibid., pp. 35–36.

[22] Torrance, *Scottish Theology*, p. 29.

were physical signs, seals, marks. And part of the invisible Church because of what the sacraments did spiritually, inwardly, for believers: provided the link between them in the present and believers through the ages.

Contemporary ideas of God & space in Scotland

In this reaction against innovation and for a purer ecclesiology based on the sacraments, ideas about space and God's favour or disfavour swirled around the Protestant and Reformed world. There were not fully developed ideas about how the physical spaces of churches and other buildings should be theologically understood, especially in Scotland, but certain debates and attitudes about innovation and worship can shed some light on what the Reformers thought and how they approached the ideas in relation to church buildings.

Theologians of the sixteenth century provided much argumentation about what they thought about the physical space of churches. John Calvin, one of the most influential thinkers for the Reformed communities of Europe, wrote about it in his *Institutes*, explaining:

> Now as God by his word ordains common prayers for believers, so also ought there to be public temples wherein these may be performed, in which those who spurn fellowship with God's people in prayer have no occasion to give the false excuse that they enter their bedroom to obey the Lord's command. For he, who promises that he will do whatever two or three gathered together in his name may ask [Matt. 18: 19–20], testifies that he does not despise prayers publicly made, provided ostentation and chasing after paltry human glory are banished, and there is present a sincere and true affection that dwells in the secret place of the heart.
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> If this is the lawful use of church buildings, as it certainly is, we in turn must guard against either taking them to be God's proper dwelling places, whence he may more nearly incline his ear to us—as they began to be regarded some centuries ago—or feigning for them some secret holiness or other, which would render prayer more sacred before God. For since we ourselves are God's true temples, if we would call upon God in his holy temple, we must pray within ourselves. Now let us leave this stupidity to the Jews or pagans, for we have the commandment to call upon the Lord, without distinction of place, 'in spirit and in truth' [John 4: 23]. At God's command the Temple had indeed been dedicated of old for offering prayers and sacrificial victims, but at that time the truth lay hidden, figuratively represented under such shadows; now, having been expressed to us in living reality, it does not allow us to cleave to any material temple. And not even to Jews was the Temple committed on the condition that they might shut up God's presence within its walls but in order that they might be trained to contemplate the likeness of the true temple. Therefore

> Isaiah and Stephen gravely rebuked those who thought God in any way dwells in temples made with hands [Isa. 66: 1; Acts 7: 48–49].[23]

Calvin explicitly connected the proper use of church buildings to the command that Christians should pray together, asserting that any prayers given as part of the corporate worship of the Church should be public, preventing the excuse that prayers in private were sufficient for spiritual participation in the Church. Calvin encouraged believers that sincerity and true affection were possible when approaching church buildings: they need not be places of overwhelming human ambition in decoration and ostentation. In order to maintain this state of detachment, it was theologically important always to remember that God did not dwell in any particular place, failing which, people might keep believing God would be quicker to hear them, an error Calvin observed had entered the faith in prior centuries. These were not simply practical injunctions Calvin was asserting in order to set up a new Reformed worship and attitude towards church buildings. He was making a theological point about God's very nature and relationship with humanity, and the correct interpretation of them. God's nature, of course, could not be changed by human use of particular buildings. But the divine–human relationship could run into trouble if people did not quite understand that they themselves were wholly and simply God's temples. Calvin's proof text was Jesus' words to the woman at the well, where he affirms his identity as Messiah and intricately binds that identity to the full worship of God that Christ's reign will bring, stating that in the future, true worshippers will worship in spirit and truth, and that God is spirit and truth.[24] If Christ's renewal of the covenant with God the Father should have made worship accessible to all, the Reformers argue, then humans had no reason or purpose for ascribing special status to any particular place. Worship of God was to be almost exclusively spiritual, meaning that the Church was also not bound to particular places.

Because Calvin argued theologically for the non-particular nature of the Church, the use of the church building was not at the forefront of his mind. This is part of the reason the sacraments must be considered theologically as well. The physical actions in which people participated were not the only issue: their beliefs about those actions mattered enormously. So it was with church buildings. The arguments of theologians were of varying importance to the people on the ground, but they are often the only direct extant evidence making explicit just what those

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[23] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, *Library of Christian Classics* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1961), III. xx. 30.

[24] John 4: 1–26.

precise beliefs were. As demonstrated in the later chapters, people in Scotland had many different reasons for approaching church buildings as they did, but these ideas were really the lifeblood of the people's approach to the places where they lived out their religion. In a Scottish view of the argument recorded by John Knox, George Wishart the martyr expressed the importance of the correct use of sacraments and the preaching of the Word as marking where a physical church building was being treated appropriately:

> THE XVI ARTICLE.
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> Thow Heretike sayest, That it is vane to buyld to the honour of God costlie Churches, seing that God remaneth not in Churches made by menis handis, nor yit can God be in so litill space, as betuix the Preastis handis.
>
> THE ANSWER.
>
> My Lordis, Saloman sayith, 'Yf that the heavin of heavinis can not comprehend thee, how much less this house that I have buylded.' And Job consenteth to the same sentence, saying, 'Seing that he is heychtar then the heavins, tharefor what can thow buyld unto him? He is deapar then the hell, then how sall thow know him? He is longar then the earth, and breadar then the sea.' So that God can nott be comprehended into one space, because that he is infinite. These sayingis, nochtwithstanding, I said never that churches should be destroyed; bot of the contrarie, I affirmed ever, that churches should be congregat in thame to hear the worde of God preached. Moreover, wharesoever is the trew preaching of the word of God, and the lauchfull use of the Sacramentes, undoubtedlye thare is God him self. So that both these sayingis ar trew together: God can nott be comprehended into any one place: And, 'Wharesoever thare ar two or three gathered in his name, thare is he present in the myddest of thame.' Then he [the interrogator], without all reassone, was dome, and could not answer a worde.[25]

Wishart was careful to avoid falling into the trap of his interrogators by approving of the destruction happening in the name of the Protestant cause on the Continent. He started with the premise, supported by biblical texts, that God cannot be contained in any one space, just as Calvin had argued. But his defence of the non-particular nature of churches did not rest on theological points. He reverted to the ecclesiological argument: buildings were churches when they contained members of the Church, participating in the lawful use of the sacraments and listening to the true preaching of the Word. For Wishart, the practical needs of the Church, to have somewhere to

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[25] This record of Wishart's heresy trial was preserved in Knox's History: John Knox, *The Works of John Knox*, ed. David Laing, 6 vols., vol. 1 (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1895), pp. 165–66.

gather, provided a simple answer to the question of whether there should be church buildings. Unfortunately his practical approach, unlike Calvin's, did not explicitly rule out 'costlie' churches. He left the point implied: because God could be anywhere by the presence of Christians worshipping, it follows that exclusivity is impossible. Yet Wishart was being careful here: he did not condemn himself with these words.

Wishart provided a pre-Reformation view of a Protestant attitude towards church buildings at a time when they did not actually possess any buildings in Scotland. His approach fit in relatively well with Calvin's, though he approached the issue from a different perspective. What was common, however, was that the building itself did not provide any means for people to approach God in any closer manner than how they might by gathering together anywhere. Calvin explained the problem of church buildings in terms of who God is, and focusing on the need for public prayer being at the heart of the necessity of church buildings. Wishart on the other hand focused on the use of the church. John Knox, the great Scottish Reformer, would syncretise these two positions by combining the necessity of public prayer and the nature of the spiritual Church.

John Knox considered the space of the Church as deeply connected to the ecclesiology of the Church. That is, the spiritual nature and function of the gathered body of Christ were reflected in the attitude the Reformers had about the physical environment and manifestation of churches. This was partly because of the basics of sacramental theology and the relationship the sacraments engendered between the physical and the spiritual. Yet the space of churches had been an important battleground throughout Europe during the Reformation. Church buildings had, time and time again, been places for many confrontations: demarcating Protestant worship against Roman Catholic use, or directly challenging the theological underpinnings of separations between cleric and lay, for example. These contested spaces therefore were ripe for use as polemical tools in the arguments over how right doctrine impinged on the actual functioning of daily life within the church. John Knox wrote these words in his 1568 disputation with the Jesuit James Tyrie over the nature of the Church and the Reformed Church's position in Scotland in relation to the pope and the Roman Catholic Church:

> Our Maister Christ Jesus appointed us to no one certane place, wher we shallbe assured of his presence; but rather forbidding the observatioun of all places, he sendes us his own spirituall presence, saying 'Wheresoever two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the middest of them' (Matt. 18). And in another place, 'Behold I

> am with you to the end of the world' (Matt. 28). We, being grounded upon these promyses, have good hope through Jesus Christ, that in our congregationis we have the favourable presence of Jesus Christ, as wel in his Word as in his holy Sacramentes. For in his Name alone convene we; by him alone we call upon God our Father; and by hime alone we are assured, through the power of his Holy Spreit, to obtain our requests made according to his wil.[26]

Knox was arguing, as Wishart had done before him, for the non-specific nature of the location of Christian churches. Yet he also added Calvin's practico-theological approach as well: Christians only needed to gather with one another, listen to the preaching of the Word, and participate in the administration of the sacraments for a gathering to be considered part of the true Church. His comments were part of his argument against Tyrie's contention that the Roman Catholic Church occupied the place of the visible church in the world, spoken of by the prophet Isaiah. And the current Reformed Kirk of Scotland suffered in its attempts to be the true Church because of its separation from the Roman Church. This was not especially an argument about church buildings and their place in the spiritual world. It was about where to find the visible, true Church. Knox agreed with Tyrie about the need for the Church, saying, 'We further affirme, that without the societie and bosome of the trew Kirk, never was, is, nor salbe salvatioun unto man.'[27] Knox's problem, however, was in the fundamentals of what constituted faith, religion, and the true Church. His concern was to specify how to distinguish these from idolatry and superstition, which he was certain were practised by the Roman Catholic Church.

Any church which claimed to be part of the true Church was 'bound and oblist to measure thair religioun, not be the exemple of other realmes, neyther yet be their owen good intention, or determinatioun of men, but only be the expressed word of God'.[28] He used this point to determine that all activity within the Church should be expressly commanded in the Word, and therefore provided the reason for dismissing so much of the Roman Catholic worship practice, claiming them 'as thingis having na better ground then the invention and consent of men'.[29] John Knox was interested in how to provide the ideal environment for people to participate in the love and salvation of God. He could be so confident that God did not dwell in

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[26] John Knox, *The Works of John Knox*, ed. David Laing, 6 vols., vol. 6 (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1895), p. 496.

[27] Ibid., p. 486.

[28] Ibid., p. 488.

[29] Ibid.

any one place because of the scriptural warrants he relied upon and because of the specifically Reformed theology of the sacraments that he and the other ministers of the Reformation period developed. The assurance that baptism and participation in the Lord's Supper provided for believers, combined with the edification available through the constant preaching of the Word, was enough for them to experience the presence of God. Through these experiences over the several generations of our period, the hold physical places had over people diminished and was exchanged for a deeper understanding of what constituted the Church in which they participated.

Ecclesiastical context

It is vital to establish the ecclesiastical context for church building history and this section offers an exposition of the major themes in church history throughout the period as they related to building history. Visual culture in the Church was alive and well, demonstrating that buildings were not scrubbed clean during the Reformation to a bland interior. The liturgical and political changes of the Church affected new buildings by changing the structures of who was in charge of decision making in churches. Evidence exists for building decisions being made at many levels of church organisation, from session to general assembly. Changing worship in the church gave ordinary people in Scotland various ways to express their faith: even if diversity was not officially sought, the fact that the establishment were sending mixed signals about liturgy allowed people in Scotland some element of choice. Just as important as ecclesiastical power and liturgy is the geographical organisation of the church in Scotland: the parish system and its expansion influenced how and where churches were built in the period.

Visual culture of the church

The visual culture of the Reformed Church was dynamic. Several layers of historical interpretation must be peeled away to uncover the role painting, decoration, and text played within church buildings after 1560. The iconoclasm the church suffered at the height of the Reformation crisis was real, but it must be understood in a more nuanced way.

Iconoclasm

Iconoclasm and the Scottish Reformation are inextricably linked in the historical imagination because of a long tradition of seeing the late-sixteenth-century kirk as a dour, controlling, and staid place that replaced a visually stimulating,

mysterious, and farther-off medieval church. The myth of the Reformation smashing visual culture in the Scottish church has become somewhat debunked with the work of Jane Dawson and Andrew Spicer,[30] among others, who have shown that the Reformed kirk in Scotland had a visual energy different from the iconography that had become popular in medieval devotion: saints' lives, reliquaries, stained glass, and ostentatious building styles.

There was iconoclasm: this is not in doubt. Early in the Scottish Reformation Crisis, in 1559, tearing down monuments, burning images, and removing stone altars were equated with reformation. The lasting effects of this spurt of destruction in support of the Protestantising Lords of the Congregation were certainly part of the historical basis for a shifting building style in Scotland. Knox's description of the 1559 iconoclasm in Perth evoked a pure Reformed zeal, a principle that would complicate the visual culture of the kirk for years to come:

> So were men's consciences before beaten with the Word, that they had no respect to their particular profit, but only to abolish idolatry, the places and monuments thereof: in which they were so busy, and so laborious, that within two days those three great places, monuments of idolatry, to wit, the Grey and Black thieves, and Charterhouse monks (a building of a wondrous cost and greatness) were so destroyed that the walls only did remain of all those great edifications.[31]

The political classes in Scotland got behind this sort of destruction, approving of it and sometimes leading the way.[32] Because Reformation was equated with destruction of visual ostentation in those early days, many people have incorrectly assumed that kirk buildings from those days forward had to be simple and plain. The fact is Scottish Protestants could produce visually stimulating buildings not leaning towards idolatry in the ensuing decades. The arguments over what kind of images could be in a kirk or how decorative a building could be were part of the general disagreements in church polity that also reached into aspects of devotion, community, and discipline.

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[30] Jane E.A. Dawson, 'The Face of Ane Perfyt Reformed Kyrk: St Andrews and the Early Scottish Reformation', in *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England and Scotland, 1400-1643: Essays in Honour of James K. Cameron*, ed. James Kirk, *Studies in Church History. Subsidia* (Oxford: Blackwell for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1991), Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed, 1488–1587*, chs. 9 & 10, Spicer, *Calvinist Churches*, Andrew Spicer, ''God Hath Put Such Secretes in Nature': The Reformed Kirk, Church-Building and the Religious Landscape in Early Modern Scotland', in *God's Bounty? The Churches and the Natural World*, ed. Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon, *Studies in Church History* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, & Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press, 2010).

[31] John Knox, *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. W.C. Dickinson, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Son Ltd, 1949), vol. I, p. 163.

[32] Ibid., vol. I, p. 364.

Paintings

The visual culture of the Scottish church often presented a text-based and rule-abiding laity, who could gaze upon the Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, and Creed painted at the front of the church. Though this was a common trend in Scottish churches, they also included many decorative paintings outside of the ecclesiastical realm. People from all levels of society used whatever means at their disposal to display themselves in church: a church wall or ceiling was one of the prime places for self-expression in early modern Scotland. This added significantly to the visual culture of the church. The church in all its permutations in this period was intimately linked with civil culture in terms of artistic production:

> The sheer quantity of this kind of painting[33] and the social range of those for whom it was executed clearly reflect the establishment of a new standard of civil life, even in the absence of the court, before the second great crisis of the Reformation turned everything upside down once again, for virtually none of this kind of painting can be dated after the beginning of this second crisis of 1638.[34]

Two examples of buildings with different types of painting will serve to illustrate the artistic variety that was possible in new buildings.

The painted ceiling in the Skelmorlie aisle, executed in 1638 for Sir Robert Montgomery, is an example of domestic noble decoration brought into a church in the later part of our period. This funerary aisle was not a public space, though it was attached to a parish church. While the aisle still stands, the church does not survive, so it is even more difficult to imagine how this private space would actually have interacted with the public space of the kirk in the seventeenth century. The aisle is covered by an elaborately painted ceiling and dominated by an impressive Renaissance funerary monument for Montgomery and his wife.[35]

The zodiacal, seasonal, and symbolic images of the ceiling paintings demonstrate the confidence with which noblemen in Scotland applied knowledge beyond the Christian tradition within the Reformed Church.[36] This was a time of

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[33] Elaborate civic, private, and ecclesiastical ceiling and wall paintings.

[34] Duncan Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460–2000* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2000), p. 57.

[35] For an exhaustive description of the form and content (both stylistic and iconological) of the aisle, see Michael Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting in Scotland* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland Publishing, 2003), pp. 122–145.

[36] J.B. Stevenson, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: The Clyde Estuary and Central Region* (Edinburgh: Published for The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland by HMSO, 1985), pp. 102–03.

syncretism in aesthetic tastes and representations: 'the new style of decorative painting uses images which are far from being simply decorative; more often its sugbjects—secular and religious, classical, emblemativc, historical, or heraldic—are iconographically significant, full of meaning; speaking pictures.'[37] The texts from the Geneva Bible leave no doubt about the intention the master of this building wanted to put forward, that he was Reformed and wished to express this fact artistically.[38] The inclusion of vistas of the church itself and the town it occupied demonstrated a commitment to the local nature of the relationship between the church and the noblemen who supported it.[39] The building became a book in which the story of the social utility of the early modern Scottish church was intentionally written.

The funerary monument in the aisle would originally have been brightly painted, further indicating the interest in visual stimulation people within the Reformed tradition could have.[40] (In fact, there is an armorial panel above the entrance to the aisle showing the Montgomery and Eglinton arms (for Sir Robert) and the Douglas and Mar arms (for his wife Dame Margaret): this panel is still painted and indicates how the entire funerary monument would have looked in its heyday.[41]) Elaborate funerary monuments provide a point of continuity with older medieval traditions, as devotion before the Reformation among the higher sections of society had often been expressed by spending lavishly on buildings and monuments for commemoration after one's death. This is one of the causes of the great variety of material evidence we have remaining for the visual culture of the Reformed church. For even though there are aspects of continuity, a new syncretism between gothic and classical elements characterized the mid-seventeenth century.[42] This funerary monument, with its Dutch style, demonstrated a manner of representation firmly ensconced in its age. The painted ceiling, too, was connected with Holland, as its

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[37] Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting*, p. 1.

[38] Some of the symbols used in the panels may complicate this picture: see Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting*, pp. 144–145.

[39] Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460–2000*, pl. 47.

[40] The ceiling was painted with oil, rather than the more often used tempera. See Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting*, p. 9.

[41] Stevenson, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: The Clyde Estuary and Central Region*, pp. 103.

[42] Other evidence of even more direct artistic continuity, such as the 1636 ceiling at St Mary's Grandtully, which depicts 'the evangelists and a *Last Judgement* apparently modelled directly on pre-Reformation types like the painting at Guthrie.' See John Gifford, *Perth and Kinross*, *The Buildings of Scotland* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 405–06, Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460–2000*, p. 57. The church at Dairsie also demonstrates such stylistic syncretism; see Preparing chapter, p. 81f.

artist, James Stalker, demonstrated an awareness of contemporary Dutch painting in his landscape sections of the ceiling.[43] Some of the panels are also nearly direct copies of existing French and Dutch prints using several symbols indicating a bold combination of ways of thinking that was unique to the mid-seventeenth century.[44]

Burntisland kirk contains several notable specimens of guild and other trade association paintings from the early seventeenth century. These were sites of economic and social identification for people in this prosperous coastal burgh. The emblems brought into church the major economic engines of the burgh: the bakers, sailors, and merchants were all represented in images on the fronts of lofts especially designed for them. Merchants throughout Scotland, and specifically in Burntisland, enjoyed decorating their own houses with painted ceilings and panels.[45] Bringing domestic trends into a church with simple architecture like Burntisland may have seemed the natural thing to do. The use of diverse economic images makes sense in this urban setting, and provides one indication of how connected were the secular and sacred lives of early modern Scottish churchgoers.

The church's congregation had a desire to communicate the domestic and economic aspects of their lives in this ecclesiastical space. They fulfilled this desire with visual expression: stamps of ownership that would place them and their lives within the church for generations to come. They needed to be at home in church. From what we know of the discipline meted out by the kirk session in Burntisland,[46] perhaps this was a reaction by those in the pews against the narrow definition of what the Reformed Christian life could encompass. Visual culture in public and run-of-the-mill congregations further demonstrated how the Church could be Reformed and full of visual stimulation.

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[43] Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460–2000*, p. 58. For a brief exposition on how early modern 'artificers' used foreign styles, specifically how the 'meaning of an image is likely to involve not only its received iconology but also the speicific pupose it has in its new setting', see Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting*, pp. 14–15. The aisle also included a theme also found in Thomas Trevilian pattern book, the badges of the twelve tribes of Israel: see Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting*, pp. 22–23.

[44] See Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting*, pp. 133–138.

[45] Ibid., p. 52. Mary Somerville's House in Burntisland was originally a merchant captain's house. MacMillan suggests James Workman who owned property in the burgh could have been the painter of the decoration in the house and in Rossend Castle in the burgh. See also Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting*, p. 22.

[46] John McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish : The Reformation in Fife, 1560–1640* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 193–96, 210–13, 29.

Decisions in the Church & organisation in the parishes

The decision-making processes of the Reformed Church changed how the ecclesiastical organisation affected its population, how it related to the government of the realm, and in the end what church was for. The parish system, which had served Scotland (as most of Europe) for several centuries, continued and even strengthened under new governance ideas.

General structure of the Church

The system of church courts established between 1560 and 1645 in Scotland consisted of several institutional layers from the parish kirk session upwards to the General Assembly. These two brackets existed relatively consistently throughout the period. The intermediate levels of administration, however, varied decade to decade, which variation had much to do with the prevailing political environment at any one time.

The kirk session, made up of elders and the minister, dealt with the pastoral, financial, and disciplinary activities of the parish. The kirk session developed fully during this period into an institution that provided the foundation of the church for centuries to come. Kirk sessions varied greatly in their efficacy and practice, even within the same region.[47] Yet by the 1640s, the system was strongly established after many decades of effort on behalf of the ministers and laity of the realm. The system as an ideal for how parish governance would work was consistently a feature of the Scottish church from 1560 onwards. It was in the intermediate levels of governance that the great debates and controversies over polity emerged throughout the period.

Throughout James VI's and Charles I's reigns, the church and Crown's relationship oscillated between close and far, intimate and suspicious.[48] The upper levels of church government were a significant source of tension. The various ideas for what would occupy the administrative gap between the General Assembly and the parishes included superintendents, bishops, and synods (often a combination of all these for lack of people or resources).[49] This level, just above the presbytery, which was a collection of kirk sessions, was a source of tension because of the potential political power this number of ministers and laymen could achieve. The General

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[47] Ibid.

[48] MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567–1625: Sovereignty, Polity, and Liturgy*.

[49] Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*. pp. 335–367.

Assembly, by and large, functioned as a gathering for the ministers of the realm, often offering an alternative to parliament as a relevant decision-making body in Scotland. There were indeed some more radicalized ministers who yearned for this to be the case.

Church polity between 1560 and 1645 changed several times. The original ideal of the ecclesiastical reformers sought a church polity outlined in the First Book of Discipline. Its authors were the ones who effected the Reformation Crisis from the pulpit, rather than those political reformers who brought about change on the battlefield. This 1560 manifesto did not provide an exhaustive system; indeed its program was hampered by the interests of those political groups who had with their military power helped the church reformation happen. The document focused on the Reformed meaning of ministry and supervision: ministers were those set aside, or called, to preach and to administer the sacraments. Their calling consisted of election, examination, and admission, which steps would happen within each congregation, if it was able. Here was the need for superintendents: if a congregation was not equipped to elect its minister, the 'best reformed Church' in the region would take on the role.[50] The superintendents would be a group of ten to twelve ministers 'to whom charge and commandment should be given, to plant and erect Kirkes, to set, order, and appoint Ministers, as the former order prescribes, to the Countries that shall be appointed to their care where none are now.'[51] Bishops were eventually re-established because the superintendent system had become untenable. There was a relatively slow process of returning their previous ministerial and political power in the first forty years of the seventeenth century until the abolition of episcopacy in 1638.

Parishes

Parishes had been established as a unit of ecclesiastical governance in Scotland by the thirteenth century.[52] Through this system of territorial church structure, the Scottish church was connected to the universal church throughout Europe. The system facilitated two principal goals: the spiritual care of populations and the financial security of the church being tied to the land on which that population lived. Because

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[50] James K. Cameron, ed., *The First Book of Discipline* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1972), p. 96.

[51] Ibid., p. 115.

[52] McNeill and MacQueen, *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*, pp. 336ff.

parishes had in many places evolved out of secular land use patterns,[53] the financial livelihood of any church with a parochial system was tied to its surrounding social and economic contexts. By the sixteenth century, when the Reformed Kirk took over the existing parochial structure in Scotland, this system was still facilitating these two goals, if patchily in some areas.

When considered from the level of the system of parishes, the Reformation in Scotland caused the existing institution of the church simply to become Reformed, that is to follow the theological and institutional leads of continental thinkers and churchmen such as John Calvin, Huldrich Zwingli, Heinrich Bullinger, and Theodore Beza. The places where these men rearranged ecclesiastical organisation did not have a parochial structure that was similar to Scotland's situation. They were working in city states within the Holy Roman Empire or Swiss Confederation and were therefore not dealing with a large national church covering an entire kingdom, as Scotland was.

The Reformed Church in Scotland inherited this territorial and national system which in theory provided at least one building for each parish, with around eleven hundred parishes in the country. The parish system inherited from the pre-Reformation Church also provided a structure for financing buildings that was linked to many other institutions in the realm. Land was the source of wealth in early modern Scotland and the parish system theoretically linked the surrounding land to the parish's spiritual well-being. This linkage between the land and its productive wealth to the Church ensured the owners, occupants, and tillers of this land had a stake in making sure churches were in good repair. This state of obligation was codified into a relationship between the congregations and the heritors of a parish—those landowners within the parish who had responsibility for appointing the minister and keeping up the church's physical fabric.

The parish system meant that all in the realm could have a role to play in this Church, be they the great magnates of the realm, the lesser nobility, the urban merchant classes, manual workers who plied their various trades, and even those not in economic production: men and women who did not fall into any of those categories, the elderly, and the children educated in the parish school system. The parish system meant that the Reformed Church in Scotland retained the claim to comprehensive national coverage: it was a Church for Scotland as a particular

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[53] John Malcom Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit and Community in Perthshire' (unpublished PhD, University of Edinburgh, 1992), p. 407.

geographical and political kingdom, a Church that encompassed all those who lived within this realm. Because of the political power struggles of the 1560s and 1570s, this Church was by definition Reformed: much political and military energy was spent through the latter part of the sixteenth century trying to make the Reformed nature of the Church consistent throughout the realm. Parishes helped to ensure that Reformed nature could stick.

Worship & preaching in the Church

Reformed worship saw serious changes from 1560 to 1645. The use of buildings changed, the intention of sacramental theology shifted, and the ritual of worship became a flash point for tensions beyond the Church. Liturgy, preaching, and communion remained at the heart of the Church's life, even as the controversies over worship threatened to reshape the Church and country in as radical a way as had happened in 1560. Even during these troubles, ministers directed worship with their prayers and (during certain periods) liturgies, and expounded upon the Word in their sermons in such a way that brought these activities to the centre of the church service. The Book of Common Order and the First and Second Books of Discipline gave structure to the worship of the Kirk. They emphasised the marks of the true Church, laying the basis for the implementation of a Reformed rite that would see the Word properly preached, the sacraments sufficiently administered, and godly discipline effectively exercised. The task then for the superintendents, elders, ministers, deacons, and readers was to enliven the documents so that the Kirk could truly show its own marks.[54] The 1630s saw vast changes in the Scottish Church. Charles I inherited the throne of Scotland in 1625, when his father's ecclesiastical reforms had not thoroughly taken root. James's project had been active since the mid-1610s, seeking to provide a worship for the Scottish Church that was homegrown yet consistent with his own ideas about his relationship as sovereign to the Church. The worship aspect of these changes were intensely connected to ideas about royal authority and submission: the two intractable notions—that the king was of the Church head on one hand and member on the other—produced a maelstrom for the Church. By the 1630s none of the problems had been resolved, but Charles wanted

[54] In the years immediately following the Reformation, when the ministry was too small for the Kirk, the superintendents were often overextended in rural parishes, fulfilling the roles of each position. See Dawson, 'The Face of Ane Perfyt Reformed Kyrk', pp. 431–33. For the expectations of these offices, see Cameron, ed., *First Book of Discipline*, pp. 96–107, 15–28, 74–79, Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*, pp. 154–231, James Kirk, ed., *The Second Book of Discipline* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1980), pp. 174–86, 91–94, 207–08.

to press ahead regardless with his project that would sort out the Church's financial position and its worshipping position. The Scottish bishops tried to offer the Church a new set liturgy in the ill-fated 1637 prayer book. The book was variously received in the parish churches: some took part and some did not.[55] Analysis of this liturgy, its precursors, its development and its reception is not the main purpose here.[56] The state of worship was in reactionary and reactive flux in the 1630s, at the precise time when the church building projects throughout Scotland were increasing in speed, number, and spread. Parishes were putting up buildings without a clear idea of how they were going to use them.

The physical requirements within buildings often represented the prevailing characteristics of worship. For example, in several of the church buildings considered in the process chapters, there is evidence, either documentary or physical, of an explicit and intended relationship between the seating in the church and the pulpit. The reorientation of seating to make the pulpit a focus happened throughout Scotland after the Reformation: this was the general trend. However, the more specific examples of Elie, Kingsbarns, the Tron, and Pitsligo show that those who designed the church layout—the kirk session who approved where seating would go—wanted the pulpits in their kirks to carry extra meaning. The most impressive example of intended meaning in a church would be Elie. Here, the south wall of the kirk, where the pulpit was (and still is), had the two main doors through which the congregation would have come. The physical circumstance of having to walk past the pulpit to get into church would have ensured the congregation were present before the preaching service began.

Ecclesiastical historical context

The visual, institutional, and worshipping Church provided early modern Scots with a functioning connection between one another and throughout levels of society. The buildings that housed this Church enabled the institution to work for its ministers, patrons, and congregations. The upheavals in historical circumstance that

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[55] Gordon Donaldson, *The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1954).

[56] This has been done elsewhere: see Ibid, Gordon Donaldson, 'A Scottish Liturgy of the Reign of James VI', in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, Vol. X, Scottish History Society Fourth Series* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1965), Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*, pp. 429–34, MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567–1625: Sovereignty, Polity, and Liturgy*, pp. 148–70, Laura A.M. Stewart, *Urban Politics and British Civil Wars : Edinburgh, 1617–53* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 172–222, especially pp. 214ff.

these ordinary people had to deal with were not so overwhelming that they stopped building churches. Along with upheaval came uncertainty: about their church organisation, their worship, and the acceptability of their visual expression. Despite this uncertainty, people continued to produce and use these avenues of culture. The visual culture of the Church demonstrated the devotional sensibilities of people across Scottish society. Alongside such devotion, the social need for memory, place, and pride found a ready home in the walls of new Reformed churches. The institutional shifts throughout the period meant that decisions regarding buildings took place at varying distances from the parishes concerned. While there was uncertainty throughout these eighty-five years, the Church did not become paralysed by this uncertainty. In many cases (especially for issues such as building works), this was the result of a localised kirk session simply getting on with the job despite the national furore going on overhead. In the later part of our period, when the political and ecclesiastical situation in Scotland was reaching a zenith of instability, the parishes continued to build new churches.

Political context

The political structures and history of Scotland changed irrevocably between 1560 and 1645. Not only did the exercise of authority through parliament and the government look entirely different at the end of the period, the very nature of that authority had changed. The Crown and parliament represented different interests, often resulting in the clashes that would bring about the more monumental changes at the end of the period. Because these shifts were felt down to the parish level, the building of churches was affected by them. Some church buildings carried explicit political messages, providing more evidence for the utility of the church to politics in many ways in the early modern period. Other church buildings, however, were the result of political changes such and demographic or economic shifts. There was not often an explicit desire to be political with church buildings: but it happened frequently that the building of a church fit into the political aims of the nation. The politico-religious nature of early modern Scotland ensured that was the case.

The politics of centralization

Crown

The period falls into three reigns: those of Mary Queen of Scots, James VI (later I of England), and Charles I. Monarchy as an institution changed fundamentally

over the period 1560 to 1645. There were so many shifts in how authority functioned in Scotland especially because of the two revolutions in governance and societal structure that act as bookends to our period. The ecclesiastical Reformation of 1560 with its political causes and effects, and the National Covenant, including the ensuing wars, were touchstone events that have resonated through history down to the present day. Yet there were also distinct personal and local reasons for shifts in political and economic power. It is because of these reasons that the political contexts of church building must be taken into account to gain a full understanding of the culture of early modern Scottish building.

Mary through her initial delicate balancing act in the early 1560s managed to forge a unique path among the confessional European nations of the mid-sixteenth century. As a Catholic reigning over a Protestant state, Mary was in her person redefining what royal authority was, what was the relationship between politics and faith, and what submission to a monarch meant for subjects of a realm. She certainly did not enter into this arrangement willingly: 'the Reformation Parliament of 1560 wittingly acted in defiance of the crown, Mary was little more than the head of a faction throughout her short personal rule, and in 1567 a parliament of her enemies gave its approval to an enforced abdication'.[57] The politically destructive civil war that occupied the country for much of the following six years held back progress in cementing the Reformation of the Church along the lines that most ecclesiastics wanted.

The uncertainty of a civil war meant that political authority was questioned for a time. Stability would be elusive for several more years after 1573 as well, as various regents ruled in the name of the young James VI. Once James reached majority, his kingship would be characterised by sometimes delicate and sometimes not so delicate balances of power that depended often on his personal understandings of the situation. He was a hands-on ruler who exerted his personal authority with much aplomb, with an overall plan of how his kingdom would look. His authority was strengthened in the many confrontations he faced from the Church. James's political triumph of ascending to the English throne in 1603 would be a monumental moment for Scottish politics, the Stuart dynasty, and the realms within the British Isles. James's personal touch certainly waned once he left Scotland, but his policy of ruling from afar was successful in so far as he was able to begin the process of

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[57] Keith M. Brown and Alastair J. Mann, eds., *Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1567–1707*, *History of the Scottish Parliament* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), p.17.

conforming all three of his kingdoms to one pattern, and consistent in so far as he effectively ruled and carried out his policies by pen.[58] His stronger financial position came in large part from the ecclesiastical lands and titles he slowly brought under his control in the 1590s and 1600s, resulting eventually in a compliant episcopacy that was willing to carry out his policies in church and state. The generosity in bestowing titles he then showed in the early part of the seventeenth century helped to reward service to the Crown, introducing more people into higher social rank.[59]

The peace James was able to manage through the final years of his reign did face the occasional challenge. The liturgical controversies with the Church from 1617–18 onwards and his late entry into the Thirty Years' War and the taxation needed for that were two of the tense points in the political world of James's last years. The king and his government successfully negotiated these hiccoughs. James's rule ended on a high note, with a stable Crown reigning over three kingdoms, starting to reach to their edges with an effective system of government, run for the most part by a compliant aristocracy and clergy.[60]

Charles I expressed his authority in a different manner than his predecessors. He shared James's view of his divine right as a king to rule in all matters within his kingdom, but in practice his reign turned out very differently from his father's. James's absenteeism only gradually eroded his presence in Scotland, because he retained trusted advisers who were often personal friends. Because James had effectively practised his kingship, he did not need to resort very frequently to forcing the government's hand by asserting his divine right as king. Charles did not have the contact with the government of Scotland that his father had, and made little effort to cultivate such a conciliar relationship once he came to power. He was much more personally affected by minor dissent than James had been. He further did not fully grasp the perception that Scotland might slide towards provincialism now that the nation's personal king had gone. The concerns among Scots that James had been trying to conform much of Scotland's economy, politics, and religion to England's were real and palpable. Charles did very little to allay those fears: in fact, his policies and modes of implementing them served to increase the feeling that Scotland would

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[58] Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: James V to James VII* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1971), pp. 5–6, 215.

[59] Ibid., pp. 5–6, 218.

[60] Maurice Lee, *The Road to Revolution: Scotland under Charles I, 1625–37* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), p. 4.

simply become a satellite kingdom among the Stuart realms, with much diminishment in its independence and influence on the king.[61]

Even though there was uncertainty because of how authority in Scotland changed during the course of these three reigns, the country did not stop building. Aspects of socio-political power that were severely undermined between 1560 and 1645 did not weaken the consistent symbols and institutions. The way power and society interacted did not preclude church buildings going up. The changes in the Crown's functioning did much to bring Scotland closer to a centralized state by the 1630s. Charles's actions in the second half of his reign undid some of that centralization, and the locus of power moved away from the monarchy to become more distributed throughout the political establishment. Various magnates, burghs, and clerics exercised power in many ways, yet all functioned with a higher, national aim in mind. When considering the proliferation of churches in the last quarter of the period in question, this phenomenon must be taken into account: people in Scotland were building more. The buildings in question were taking on new design shapes, establishing a new pattern different from their predecessors.

Parliament

The Scottish parliament before the Reformation was made up of three estates within one chamber: the clerical estate comprising two archbishops, eleven bishops, and about twenty-seven heads of abbeys, priories, and other religious houses, the noble estate comprising the hereditary peerage and many more untitled barons, and the burghal estate comprising commissioners elected by councils of royal burghs.[62] The political history of Scotland until 1707 when the parliament was adjourned consisted of the varying fortunes of these three estates and their activities in gaining influence and ground by implementing their own policies and the royal will. For much of Scottish history the main business of parliament, as reflected in its composition, had to do with landed interests. That is, this was the parliament for the physical realm of Scotland. Politics in the medieval period was very real and tangible. In the early modern period, as we have seen, the system became more complex. As the Reformation parliament ushered in a political and religious revolution, power politics shifted within the meetings of parliament. The Reformation was intimately

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[61] Ibid., ch. 1, Allan I. Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, 1625–1641* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991), ch. 2, Austin Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution, 1625–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), ch. 4.

[62] Brown and Mann, eds., *Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1567–1707*, pp. 11, 15.

connected to the parliamentary process, even though it worked itself out in the churches of the kingdom. The very fact the acts passed at Reformation parliament did not receive royal assent until the abdication of Mary, Queen of Scots, meant that parliament, the Church, and the Crown existed in significant tension. Each of these institutions had particular responsibilities that were being conflated. This tension resulted in events being constrained by the relationships established between these institutions in the 1560s. Even though many of the clerical estate effectively remained laymen (because of the system of commendation that was rife through the sixteenth century), that estate held onto significant power well into the seventeenth century.

As James VI desired closer control over the kirk in Scotland, especially once he ascended the thrones of England and Ireland, those nobles who desired freer reign in governance and trade were often to run up against the political needs of the bishops. By the 1610s and 1620s there came to be much competition between the nobility and bishops over who would be the most powerful and prestigious.[63] The temporal lordships erected out of former monastic lands served to inflate the de facto noble estate at the expense of the clerical one, because the nobles erected as lords sat representing lands formerly represented by the abbots and priories. The competition between noble and bishop would come to a head, at least symbolically, when John Spottiswoode, the Archbishop of St Andrews, became the chancellor of the kingdom, harking back in some of the magnates' eyes to the time of the Crown-church hybrid of the mid-sixteenth century. Those seeking a government without clerical influence, however, were not going to bow so easily. The Crown and those fiercely loyal to serving it frequently forced royal policies on parliament using often whatever means necessary, but parliament held onto its power to elect its representatives and to decide on the legislation and procedures that would pass through the body. The Crown and its detractors traded positions of power, particularly during the parliaments of 1612, 1617, and 1621, when each gained various bits of ground while the other responded in kind not long after.[64]

Charles was not crowned in Scotland until 1633. The coronation event was lavish yet substantially an awkward display: the triumphal entry led to the ceremony in Edinburgh using an English liturgy. Charles held a coronation parliament, the first meeting of the body since 1621, which had to deal with anger about the Revocation and the teind commission, rising taxes, and increasing episcopal power alongside the

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[63] Ibid., pp. 84–87, 95–96.

[64] Ibid., p. 99–100.

poorly received liturgical programme.[65] The main contentious legislation was contained in the act about the royal prerogative, which contained instructions about clerical apparel, specifically the use of the surplice in services, and the act ratifying previous acts about religion, enshrining in law the status quo in 1633, which was disagreeable to many in the kingdom.[66] Charles blatantly linked the parliament to his royal authority. The excesses of the coronation were one facet of this. Another was the inseparable clauses about the royal prerogative and the ecclesiastical dictates. He was pushing the limits by connecting such political decisions about the Church with unquestionable acts. Many nobles struggled with what they saw as an impossible compromise: John Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, was one such who disagreed with the section of the 1633 act concerning the apparel of clergy, but assented to the section about royal prerogative.[67]

The control Charles exerted over parliament in 1633, with corroboration by his bishops and fiercely loyal noble servants, was not to be tolerated for many more years. Parliament after 1633 became much more independent, and Charles lost control of the lords of the articles as well. The covenanting years proved more fruitful for parliament, when its frequency increased and its powers grew, a fact made rather apt by the rapidity with which Cromwell abolished it. The 1641 parliament was the watershed year, when Charles was forced to accept a much more limited role for the Crown and its commissioners. The committee-based governance that prevailed until 1651 replaced the privy council as the engine of government. Authority had changed in Scotland, much of which had to do with distributing power more widely.[68] The consequences of the changes in authority at the upper levels of government in the country were felt in the localities. This watershed year is an important one for much of the evidence surrounding church buildings as well: it was during the 1641 parliament that many of the new parishes with new buildings were finally erected into separate ecclesiastical units.

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[65] Ibid., p. 32, Lee, *The Road to Revolution: Scotland under Charles I, 1625–37*, ch. 1, Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement*, chs. 3–4.

[66] Brown and Mann, eds., *Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1567–1707*, pp. 124–25.

[67] Ibid., p. 128.

[68] Ibid., pp. 35–36.

Local-level politics

Convention of Royal Burghs

The burghs' organisation was unique in Scotland among the other estates of parliament. They met in Convention at least once a year, and were thus able to formulate policies for the burghs to present collectively to parliament.[69] The other estates did meet individually, such as the shire commissioners, but the burghs' pattern of once-yearly meetings meant they were more than simply an estate of the parliament. The practice had evolved out of practicality and economy, originally relying on meeting just before a parliament when all the burgh commissioners were gathered anyway.[70]

Burghs and parishes

Scotland's sixteenth- and seventeenth-century centralization happened at the same time burghs were growing to economic and political prominence in the realm. The way political power could be focused into the local level by making burghs places where authority was exercised makes them significant for the political context of church building, and its relationship with centralization. The mercantile and professional elite in urban areas throughout Europe had always been interested in having a place for themselves in churches. In Scotland it was no different. Though in our period these sections of urban society came to play a more significant role in the political nation, alongside the lesser nobility and lairds in the hinterland, guilds had ensured that merchants, craftsmen, lawyers, and producers were integrated into the life of the Church. Church buildings had for a long time been venues for expressing that integration: special side chapels, commissioned art, and transformative space during festivals gave the urban classes who could organise themselves into groups cause for celebrating their connection with the place they conducted their lives.

The development of the parish system in medieval Scotland corresponded to similar developments in parts of Europe. Even though some urban places (Madrid being a significant example) had no concept of parishes, places closer to Scotland were thoroughly divided along the parochial system. It was a way of ensuring the

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[69] Ibid., p. 38.

[70] Alan R. MacDonald, *The Burghs and Parliament in Scotland, c. 1550–1651* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 57–65.

population of a given territory was served spiritually. It was inherently territorial in Scotland, linking the spiritual Church with the physical world in several ways. The financial support of the Church, in its ideal form, came from the produce of the territory (be it land for agriculture or pasture, seas for fishing, or taxes for towns).

Upheaval of Covenant and War

The National Covenant was as political as it was religious. The impetus for change came not only from the ecclesiastical establishment (or non-establishment really), but also from the political nation who had been dispossessed of historic rights in the 1630s. The results of Charles's autocratic behaviour were different in Scotland and England: parliament, for one, continued to sit in Edinburgh throughout the tense decade. The king was threatening property and political rights with his attempts to reform the church finances and worship. One of the causes of this escalating situation was that Charles did not quite understand the significance or strength of the religious feeling in Scotland, and the ownership of that religious feeling: 'In the face of Charles's determination to exercise his supremacy in religion without consulting the Scottish people, the causes of preserving Scotland's legal liberties, its religious integrity, and national identity would merge, with revolutionary results'.[71] The text of the National Covenant re-established the basis for the authority of kingship and how it connected with, relied upon, supported, and was supported by the religious life of the realm. Not any religious life as well: the religion the National Covenant proclaimed was thoroughly Reformed and thoroughly Presbyterian. At the same time it was a most political document, and engaged much of the Scottish nation into political concerns: 'The Covenant raised political consciousness in Scotland to unprecedented heights. All those who subscribed it, irrespective of rank, became parties to its implementation and thus legitimate actors in the political process.'[72] This accessibility of politics in the late 1630s had much to do with the accessibility of organisation in Scotland, where people from across the social strata were given the opportunity to invest in the way power was exercised in the kingdom.

The disaffected leaders in Edinburgh and the Church were politically successful: they displaced the more powerful factions at court, in the Church and in the burgh in order to control the pace of events following the abortive attempt to

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[71] David Scott, *Politics and War in the Three Stuart Kingdoms, 1637–49*, *British History in Perspective* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 13.

[72] Ibid., p. 16.

impose the new liturgy in 1637, which led to the signing of the National Covenant and Glasgow Assembly in 1638. The intricacies of the political manoeuvring have been analysed in detail elsewhere.[73] The result was a regime of ultra-Protestants, not alone in the Atlantic Archipelago, but alone in governing one of the nations. They espoused views closer to the minority Puritans in England, and were squarely aligned with the Plantation Scots along the spectrum of competing religious groups in Ireland.

The major constitutional changes between 1638 and 1640 provided the context for many of the ratifications of the parish boundaries shifts that had been worked since the previous parliament in 1633. By 1640, parliament's structure had changed significantly: the body ratified the changes made in the 1638 Glasgow General Assembly replacing with barons the dissolved estate of the clergy, represented by bishops. The parliament also gave itself the power to call and dissolve a session every three years, thereby removing the Crown's prerogative in that regard. The office of president of the parliament was created, who would control proceedings, procedure, questions, and cast a deciding vote if the decision was split among the members of the house.[74] There was a new notion of authority in parliament, with the Crown being limited. The Covenanters had the upper hand and used that in part to agree to many of the parish boundary changes that permitted most of the new church buildings from the 1620s and 1630s to be legitimised. They were supporting the project of extending the kingdom of God throughout their kingdom. The politico-religious tenor of the late 1630s and 1640s extended deeply into the parish level of the kingdom. The state apparatus in the 1640s would back up that attitude with significant action.

Not many years passed before the political and military power of the Covenanters supported their significant role in the upheaval of the three kingdoms wars in the mid-1640s. The political power the Covenanting regime sought in a closer relationship with England was made manifest in the negotiations over the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643 and their ecclesiastical participation in the Westminster Assembly starting in 1644. Charles's dispute with the Parliamentarians in England, and their subsequent turning to the Scots for military support, resulted in the bulk of the Scottish political nation engaging with the real possibility that Scotland's political, ecclesiastical, and economic future should be tied to expansion across the

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[73] Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement*, especially chs. 2–4, Stewart, *Urban Politics*, ch. 6.

[74] Brown and Mann, eds., *Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1567–1707*, pp. 138–42.

whole island and beyond.[75] The Scottish influence on the events in England quickly turned into an issue that divided the Parliamentarians at Westminster, however, involving those who could not contemplate a Scottish-style Presbyterian Church as part of the settlement if or once the king's forces were defeated.

The National Covenant and the wars that followed engulfed the whole region in changes that called into question the nature of the kingdoms that made up the Stuart realms. The preceding shifts in ecclesiastical power, royal authority, parliamentary constitution, and local political influence were part of the reasons for the possibility that the State and the Church could be subject to such adjustments. Church buildings were affected by these contexts because these changes in authority were felt down to the local level. The political reality of the kingdom was also intimately linked with the ecclesiological and ecclesiastical extent of the Church in Scotland. Early modern people lived out this fact at every level of society.

Conclusion—state and theology

Church buildings were part of state formation just as much as they were part of the formation of the national Church and the spiritual Church. This had been a thread throughout the period. There was an important theological notion that the Church fit within the development of the state. The politico-theological attitudes prevailing in the later sixteenth century led towards an environment that allowed people of all stripes to participate in church building as an extension of their cultural, ecclesiological, and political lives. After the Reformation parliament, one of the official political statements to be produced in Scotland was the Negative Confession. It was a religious statement that dealt 'with the vexed question of truth and falsehood in religion, but because of its subscription by the king, its imposition on the whole country, and its intention of ferreting out recusants, it is also an explicitly political piece'.[76] The notion of a covenanted kingdom was beginning to form and gain traction in this political document. Further, Robert Bruce also engaged the idea of covenant with the poltico-religious events of his age, making an explicit link between the 1590 resubscription to the King's Confession and the covenant of law and righteousness. He preached about a spiritual band committing believers to law and discipline while at the same time a secular band would commit leaders to the interests

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[75] Scott, *Politics and War in the Three Stuart Kingdoms, 1637–49*.

[76] David George Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590–1638* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 181.

of the Reformed faith in Scotland. Connecting the spiritual and the political ensured these bands 'converged and reinforced each other in furthering "the ordinary course of law and justice", and in restraining the manifestations of traditional loyalties'.[77] In Bruce's theology there was no issue with seeing the commitments between believers and God as analogous to those between the people and rulers. If the rulers could expect some civic acquiescence as a result of the theological teaching the Church provided to the people, then the Church in return expected some support in maintaining its nature and government.

The ecclesiology professed by the Reformed ministers in Scotland, based around the sacraments, meant that any who might truly believe and participate in the worship of the true Church would be welcome. The Church in Scotland could be co-terminous with the kingdom of Scotland. For this reason, extending the availability of places to worship, to participate in the sacraments, and to hear the preaching of the Word was an explicitly political as well as theological project. The state was bound to this project of providing buildings for the Church, but not only because of the practical reasons that it had much control over ecclesiastical lands, income, and patronage. Nor was its responsibility solely because of the knowledge of how to negotiate the law and institutions to build churches. It was more than a responsibility to the people of the kingdom: it was part of the relationship between God and believers. The space of the kingdom became the possible space of the Church: the state too was interested in binding people into loyalty. An ecclesiology of participation was therefore necessary for buildings to house the potential work of the Church. The Church in Scotland would offer places where two or three could gather, in order to provide the opportunity for the spiritual life that led to union with Christ. Church building was one of the ways people could participate in that project. Analysing what they did and how they did it will give shape and reality to these theological, ecclesiastical, and political contexts.

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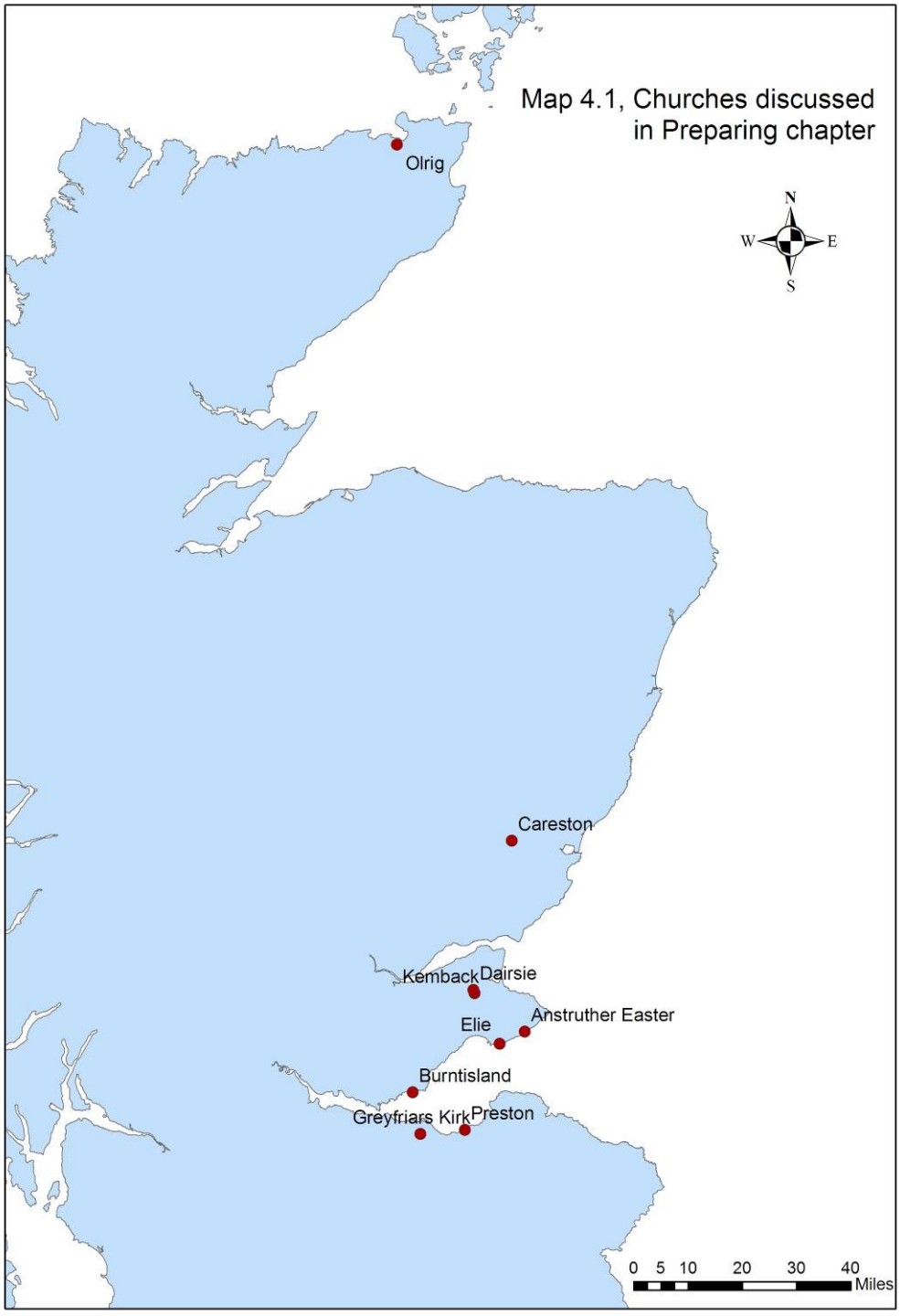
[77] Arthur H. Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2003), p. 74.

Preparing

Introduction

When the idea for a church first germinated in a locality, the preparations for building that church began. Early modern people contributed to a particular process during these preparations. They knew their project would be a relatively long one: though because of the scale of most parish churches in late-sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Scotland, it would not take the centuries churches in the past had taken to build. The process was more of a midterm undertaking. A building may take almost a decade to finish. So the laity had both midterm and long-term interests in mind when they initiated the project, when they started planning how they would interact with this buildings site for several years to come. They held a fundamentally early modern view of time and process though: theirs was not a world of immediate gratification, of benchmarks, tasks, and goals to be ticked off a list.

The preparing process consisted of the idea emerging in a place for a project, the ensuing institutional negotiations necessary for starting that project, the financial commitments for both the actual building and its eventual use, establishing the need for the building, and negotiating who would be part of the group using the building. This process, with its idea, institutions, money, need, and people, existed within the rhythm of early modern Scottish life. A project such as a new church building, given the hurdles it had to pass and how it reached into all levels of society, was always from its beginning a project that could produce, communicate, and receive culture. Such a project needed to interact with the existing structures of society, and then in turn influence the society around it in such a way that it keep influencing later developments too. In the preparing steps of the process of building a church, people had to deal with the tremendous changes around them from 1560 to 1645. Ideas for churches, or the theology behind the ideas, were coming from changing ecclesiastical practices. Financial support was inextricably linked to the institutional structures that were slowly changing in Scotland during its long Reformation. While there was never a tidy and complete shift from one model to another, which many of the parishes described in this chapter will show, the tendency towards secularisation of church finances comes up time and time again. There were many financial situations: churches could be in rural parishes with direct links to crop productivity, or in urban settings, where they depended on the ability of a council to raise funds by taxation or debt financing. The physical need for buildings to house people in a time of demographic growth in certain parts of the realm and decline in others encompasses



several different trends. Those who decided what sort of church distribution was needed varied: in certain places, councils and burgesses led the way, while in others noblemen and ministers drove the initiatives. In some cases, variations on these combinations led to different outcomes. The congregation for whom the building

was meant in many places gained a new voice they had not previously been able to express.

The church did not have a single way of erecting a new building. There was a patchwork of processes, a type of evolution of many people serving interests on land, revenue, spiritual provision, and congregational control. The vicissitudes of the political and ecclesiastical situations were necessarily part of this patchwork. The examples of parishes in different situations show some of the ways people dealt with and contributed to this patchwork. By examining these themes within the stories of several different churches, the Preparing chapter will demonstrate the cultural potential these projects had, and the cultural contribution those who built them knew they were making to early modern Scotland. This chapter will take up one main case study to outline the major aspects of preparing to build a church and the ensuing steps needed to ensure it would run smoothly. The story of Careston parish kirk contains many of the steps benefactors, heritors, and parishioners went through in order to get their church built. This narrative will then be contrasted with aspects of other churches' stories in order to highlight some of the gaps left by Careston and its initiators.

Careston

The timing of certain church building projects proved fortuitous in relation to larger-scale events in the country. A church building in Angus in the presbytery of Brechin was one such, that revealed the knack early modern lairds and clergy had for taking advantage of political uncertainty to attempt to create a financial opportunity. Sir Alexander Carnegie of Balnamoon was one such minor laird. He had built a chapel on his lands of Careston by 1636, in that time when the king's projects of redistributing the wealth of the church seemed still to have some traction and possibility of working out. The flexibility in timing Carnegie showed was relatively extraordinary: he managed to shoehorn his new church building into being a prosperous little parish several years later. Carnegie was the youngest brother of David Carnegie, Earl of Southesk, so was well connected in the political world.[1] His exploitation of events, then, is not surprising, but instructive in how the lairds, faced

[1] Southesk, as Lord Carnegie of Kinnaird, was on the privy council in 1617 and the court of high commission in 1634. Brown and Mann, eds., *Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1567–1707*, pp. 92, 96, Alan R. MacDonald, *Carnegie, David, First Earl of Southesk (1574/5–1658)* (Oxford University Press, 2004 [cited 6 December 2011]); available from http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4717.

with concerns of land and estate management alongside spiritual provision, dealt with early modern church–state tensions.

Careston was a rural church.[2] Carnegie built this church because he was concerned about the ignorance of his tenants and the inhabitants of the lands of Careston and other nearby settlements. Carnegie had decided that the reason for this ignorance was because their homes were too far from the parish church of Brechin, three miles away.[3] This reason was similar to those given in other places throughout the 1630s: Anstruther Easter, Portpatrick, and Pitsligo are examples. Distance between dwellings and churches was a common reason, especially in the 1630s. This was not because ordinary parishioners suddenly became lazy and did not want to walk to church as they had done for centuries before. The attempted reorganisation of the parish system in Scotland was the culprit. The government had given the nobility and lairds a ready-made justification if they wanted a new parish erected. Part of the purpose of the teinds commission (and its predecessors from the 1610s and 1620s) was to rationalise the parish system and to make the lands more manageable. As one of the documents relating to this case made abundantly clear, the commission had within its remit the power

> to disjoyne too large & spacious parochines & plant thaim severally & to erect newe kirkis & dismember such pairtis & portiones of land as ly farr distant fra their proper paroche kirk & more neir & ewest [*adjacent or beside*] to the nixt adiacent paroche fra thair owne proper parochin kirk quherfra they ly far distant as said is & to adjoyne & anexe thaim to the uther paroch kirk & parochin quherunto they ly more neirest & ewest.[4]

The landowners in the localities were intimately aware of the need to demonstrate where parishes were too large. This was the main official justification Carnegie wanted to present to the authorities for why he needed a new parish for his new church building. This small country kirk will make a significant appearance in this

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[2] See *figures 4.1* to *4.3*.

[3] Extract act of the General Assembly referring to Parliament a petition by Sir Alexander Carnegie of Balnamone and his tenants of Carretstoune and Pitforkie that the lands thereof be disjoined from the parish of Brechin and erected into a separate parish, 3 August 1639. Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie, Ecclesiastical Papers: NAS GD45/13/96. See also 'Royal Grant of the teinds of Over Carreston, Pitforkie, and Balnabrieche to the kirk of Carreston' in Patrick Chalmers and John Ingles Chalmers, eds., *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis : Cui Accedunt Cartae Quamplurimae Originales*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Aberdoniae: [Bannatyne Club], 1856), p. 311. Hereafter, *Reg. Episc. Brech*.

[4] Summons at the instance of Mr. David Campbel, minister of Carracstoun, against Patrick Maull of Panmuir to appear before the Commissioners for Valuation of Teinds to hear the lands of Balnabreich disjoined from Breichin and annexed to Carracstoun, 9 February 1643. Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie, Ecclesiastical Papers: NAS GD45/13/104.

chapter because of a dispute over the supposed justification for its building. The structure of the parish's teind system was to become contentious between the time the building went up in 1636 and when its parish finally had all the lands nearest to it attached administratively to the parish. This process took at least seven years, and caused much wrangling. The dispute reflects several important characteristics of the early modern lairds and nobility in society, and some intriguing insights into the lives of those for whom buildings such as Careston kirk were built.

The lands that would become Careston parish were originally in the parish of Brechin, a town of significance throughout our period, whose history reached back at least to the eleventh century. The church there had been a Celtic abbey whose lands David I appropriated in 1150 to create a see in the town. At the Reformation, the cathedral became the parish church and by the 1630s the parish had been provided with a second charge.[5] This was a thriving community, and was the seat of a bishop up to 1638. The bishopric of Brechin was not large nor was it unified: its scattered parts were distributed throughout the diocese of St Andrews.[6] The agricultural wealth of the area, however, contributed to its being worthy of noble attention when the lands reverted to royal hands after the abolition of the episcopacy in 1638.[7] Among the places seen as prime candidates for using this wealth were new parish churches. One which had the support of the upstart younger brother of a significant nobleman was an even better contender. Yet because ecclesiastical wealth was usually divided among many people, these many people needed placating in order to secure the teinds necessary to finance a new parish. Even though Carnegie had built the church with his own money, he would need to provide a secure living for the minister and arrangements for future maintenance of the church building. The teinds of his lands at Careston should have been sufficient for this charge. There is no precise evidence demonstrating why Carnegie waited until 1639 to start the process of separating his lands from the parish of Brechin; the chronology and his character lend themselves to two possibilities. First, he could have started the process in good time, but the machinery of government struggling as it was to keep up with the revolution it had on its hands could not cope with the administrative details of a small parish in Angus.

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[5] Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, New ed., vol. 5, Synods of Fife, and of Angus and Mearns (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1925), p. 374. Hereafter, *FES*. Brechin was called a city (*villa* or *civitas*), a term not often used in Scotland, long before it was called a burgh.

[6] McNeill and MacQueen, *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*, p. 385.

[7] Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland : Wealth, Family, and Culture from the Reformation to the Revolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 54.

Second, there is always the possibility that he saw the tumult of 1637 and 1638 coming and knew he would be able to seize an opportunity to establish his parish very well after the dust had settled. The first is the more probable situation, and other churches throughout the country bear this out: Anstruther Easter and Kingsbarns were particularly similar in timing, while the Tron in Edinburgh had some similar characteristics.

The process ran into trouble, however, in 1639, when some of the land in the new parish came under dispute. The minister of Navar, a nearby parish, was Laurence Skinner. He and the patron of Navar, the prominent laird Patrick Maule of Panmure,[8] had rights over the teinds on some of Carnegie's land. They had taken issue with the separation of the lands of Nether Careston and Peathill from Brechin and their joining to the new parish at Careston. This was because the teinds of these lands were a part of Skinner's stipend at the parish of Navar, even though they were in the parish of Brechin. Brechin's stipend had already been sufficiently established by the Commission for Surrenders and Teinds, and the teinds of the lands in question assigned to increase the stipend of Navar. Further, the stipulation had been made on those teinds that they should not be used for the parish of Brechin, specifically for any part of the minister's stipend or building works. Skinner and Maule claimed that the situation as it stood was satisfactory, because the Nether Careston and Peathill lands represented only one-twentieth of Brechin parish, so Brechin did not suffer because the teinds were diverted somewhere else. They argued the following to make their point:

> quheras be this erectioune of Carraldstone in ane paroche kirk, the teyndis perteining to the said Mr Lawrence his benefice quhilk exceidis the halff therof may be burdinet with ane pairt of the stipend of the said erected kirk quherof he is altogidder frie if the samen be not dismemberit from Brechen and with other burdingis of reparatioun of the kirk, far exceiding the portione quherwith the samen can be burdinet at Brechin.[9]

If the proposed changes were prevented, the stipend of Navar could not be used to supplement the stipend of the new parish or for immediate and future building works. If the proposed changes did come about, however, the lands of Nether Careston and Peathill would be in the new parish. The benefice of Navar would still receive part of its support from those lands, but it would be much more probable that they might

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[8] He would be ennobled as the Earl of Panmure in 1646, although the Panmure house had been noble in the past: see Ibid., p. 13.

[9] NAS GD45/13/96.

be used for Careston parish. This was because the new parish was much smaller than Brechin, with the result that the lands in question made up a much larger proportion of Careston parish. Even though Carnegie had built the church with his own money, there were other interests to take into account in the future financing of the parish and its work.

Skinner further contended that his stipend was insufficient, so any extra burden would be utterly impossible. He was earning only 300 merks and one chalder of victual.[10] Of that amount, 42 merks and one chalder of victual came from the teinds of Nether Careston and Peathill. In simple mathematical terms, things would not work out well for Skinner if this rearrangement were to be carried out. Here Patrick Maule of Panmure entered the fray, claiming that any risk to the stipend of Navar should be absolutely avoided, and was illogical, as he had been seeking in his role as patron an increase to the stipend for at least two years. He claimed he had royal warrants to prove the process was well on its way. Maule argued that if this separation happened, it would be in direct contradiction to the will of the Crown. Maule was keenly loyal to the king.[11] His interests in the region had been kindled once he bought the baronies of Brechin, Navar, and Balmakellie in 1634 from the Earl of Mar, and later when he became the justice of the peace in Forfar and the depute of the admiralty between Southwater and Bruchtie.[12] His attention to the parish, bishopric, and city of Brechin continued throughout the 1630s and 1640s, starting in a conflict with the bishop over the right to appoint the magistrates of Brechin, and ending with Maule receiving a grant of the lands and teinds of the bishopric.[13] He spent a good part of his energy in the period after he bought the barony arranging his finances in the area. Regarding the benefice of Navar

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[10] This was slightly below the average John McCallum has extrapolated for ministers' pay in neighbouring Fife in the 1630s: see John McCallum, 'Poverty or Prosperity? The Economic Fortunes of Ministers in Post-Reformation Fife, 1560–1640', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 62, no. 3 (2011): esp. pp. 480–83.

[11] Nonetheless he later expressed broad sympathies with the Covenanters, and probably was reeling from the events of the previous years. This was a time of slippery loyalties, a fact well illustrated by the actions of Maule's stepson the sixth Earl Marischal, who first signed the King's Covenant but then welcomed the Covenanting Committee to his castle at Dunnotar. David Stevenson, *Keith, William, Sixth Earl Marischal (1614–1671)* (online) (Oxford University Press, 2006 [cited 29 November 2011]); available from http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15278.

[12] John Stuart, ed., *Registrum De Panmure : Records of the Families of Maule, De Valoniis, Brechin, and Brechin-Barclay, United in the Line of the Barons and Earls of Panmure, Compiled by the Hon. Harry Maule of Kelly, A.D. 1733*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Edinburgh: 1874), p. 320.

[13] J.R.M. Sizer, *Maule, Patrick, First Earl of Panmure (1585–1661)* (online) (Oxford University Press, 2006 [cited 29 November 2011]); available from http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18368, Stuart, ed., *Registrum De Panmure*, p. 320.

specifically, he found out they were undervalued, so wanted to make sure he could rectify that situation. He had to proceed with caution, ordering his factor to look into the following:

> Item the teindis of Nather Carrastoune Pertanis to the Chancellarie quhilk ar affirmed to be better nor twentie aucht bolls of victual & payis no moir now nor 28 libs and I am informed that the samyne is valued in stok & teind to nyne chalders of vittual, wherof the fyft pairt must be teind & thairfoir to try quhat taks Bonymoin hes for iff they be his yeirs to Jan the minister may avyd thame but iff thair be many yeirs we mon tak some course to querrell & reduce thame Except the Laird of Bonymon quha is heretor agrie willinglie to the maintenance of the kirk of Navar
>
> Item the landis of Peithill (quherof the Laird of Bonymoin is also heretor) payis to the Chancellarie ane chalder of vittual But I am informed that the valuation thairof is much better and thairfoir to try the worth thairof in stok & teind And thairs also to try quhat take aither lang or schort the Laird of Bonymon hes of thir teinds.[14]

Maule was aware of the financial situation of the parish as early as 1637, and was gearing up for a fight with Carnegie. He instructed his factor to find out just how much Carnegie was earning from the tack of the teinds, and how long those tacks would last. This was all about Maule straightening out his obligations, indebtedness, and sources of income. He was a shrewd businessman who wanted the most out of his lands. There was no sense in allowing the ecclesiastical demands on the land to languish if they could be made to provide more wealth. He was aware of his duties to the parish of Navar, and the planning for how he would deal with Carnegie was early in the making:

> Last it was informed that the Laird of Bonymon is desyrous to have his lands of Carrastoun disjoyned from the kirk of Brechin and he to big ane kirk to himselfe & giveth mainenance & by that to found ane yeirlie dewtie applicable to the rent of the principall soume of ane thowsande merks to the kirk of Navar And this may be taxed how far they inclyne this way.[15]

Maule knew about Carnegie's plans to form the new parish around the new church. He was not fully aware of the situation, though, as the church was already built at this point. His concerns about Navar church were that Carnegie would try to wrest control of the lands away from him, to the detriment of Skinner and his parish. Maule's concerns over holding onto his position with Charles I and the financing of

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[14] Nott anent the kirk of Navar, 2 August 1637. Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie, Titles to Land: NAS GD45/16/1004, f. 3.

[15] Ibid.

the benefice came from personal experience of penury. He had been facing serious financial trouble when he inherited his estate in 1605 and only managed to turn this downward trajectory around by receiving royal grants from James VI. Maule was one of many early modern lairds who knew what he could offer the Crown and what he could gain in return. Royal patronage was valuable for the lairds when they received such grants. Their loyalty offered the king a way to control their ambitions.[16] Maule and Skinner were quite simply staking their ground over rights that had varying degrees of longevity to them: in Maule's case, his baronial status went back not even half a decade; in Skinner's case, he knew ecclesiastical income was a touchy subject in the late 1630s. They were arguing solely over the financial settlements as they related to themselves. None of the evidence demonstrates any concern for the spiritual provision for other people, aside from what can be inferred from the standard language of protecting their successors' rights as well as their own.

In the end, Skinner and Maule agreed to support the changes as long as their rights were not infringed upon, that is, the stipend and maintenance of the new Careston kirk and parish could not burden the teinds that supported the benefice of Navar. Part of their acceptance included the stipulation that Carnegie and his heirs would need to repay any potential burden caused to Skinner and his successors in the post as minister of Navar. Their close awareness of the potential for income from the former teind lands of the bishopric of Brechin was probably at the centre of their insisting on these points. In the end, Laurence Skinner probably did not need to be as worried as he was regarding his income, as he eventually received teinds from the bishopric of Brechin worth £255 13s 4d yearly from Charles I on 4 November 1641.[17] Of course he could not have known this would be granted: perhaps the work he did securing the rights of the town worked in his favour. Those rights were another of the reasons that this case did not conclude quickly. The commissioner for the burgh of Brechin, Robert Dempster, also had reason to prevent the deal. He wanted to make sure the burgh would not suffer in any of its civil rights over the lands at Nether Careston and Peathill. He insisted that before the burgh could agree to the deal, they would need to see documentation from the bishop of Brechin showing that he had in fact agreed to the separation before his position and power were dissolved, with the 'speciall conditione that the Bishop of Brechin and chapter therof sould not be prejudgit in the ryt of the teyndis of his lands quhilk [Carnegie]

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[16] Brown, *Noble Society*, p. 64.

[17] *Records of the Parliament of Scoltand*, 1641/8/432, hereafter, *RPS*; Scott, *FES Vol. 5*, p. 400.

craves to be erected in ane severall kirk'.[18] Dempster's concern was that since the bishop and chapter no longer existed, being after the Glasgow assembly of 1638 had abolished episcopacy, the burgh should take over the protection of the rights over those teinds.

Carnegie eventually accepted these terms around two years later.[19] Yet he did so while protesting the fact they were absolutely necessary. He signed a bond guaranteeing his new parish would not impinge on the rights of the parish of Navar as the chancellery church of Brechin. Carnegie explained in the bond that he

> intendit and proposed the erectione of the said kirk of Carrestoune for godis glorie and edifieing the tennentis and inhabitants within the samen landis quherof the said parrochin of Carrestoune is to consist and with resolutione to provyd ane competent mantenance to the ministeris who shall serve the cuir at the said kirk of Carrestoune and that without any prejudice to the said kirk of Navar or to the benefeice of the chancellarie of Breichan or teyndis forsaidis perteining thairto in haill or in pairt.[20]

The fact he outlines his desire for God's glory is probably a rather formulaic phrasing; the edification of the tenants, however, is not found as frequently in such documentation about church building projects. The most important promise he was making here was that his new parish would not form any burden for the teinds of Navar from lands within the new parish or from any lands connected to the parish but within the barony of Navar (that is, those infeft to Maule). In order to prepare for any future eventuality, the bond listed the potential that

> the samen teyndis shall not be burdened with na pairt of the stipend and provisioune of the said kirk of Carrestoune nor with any stentis or taxes for bigging and repairing of the kirk thairof or for bigging of the kirk dykis of the samen or provisione of ane schoolmaister or reider thairat Nor for no uther causes nor occasione that may occur for and in respect of the said kirk of Carrestoune and parochin thairof.

The fact that he agreed that the lands would not be burdened by any taxes or stents for the new church's building projects demonstrates that he had seriously considered the task he was setting himself and his successors. By stating that Maule's lands would

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[18] NAS GD46/13/96.

[19] The document is either 1640 or 1641.

[20] Drafts (3) of bond by Sir Alexander Carnegie of Bonymone, kt., to Mr. Alexander [Laurence] Skinner, minister of Navarr, and Patrick Maule of Panmuir that the separation of the lands of Nather Carrastoune and Peithill from the parish of Breichin shall involve no additional burden on the teinds thereof, which belong to the kirk of Navarr as the kirk of the chancellor of Breichin, [1641]. Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie, Ecclesiastical Papers: NAS GD45/13/97.

not pay for finishing the building and any future projects such as building the kirkyard walls or repairing the church, Carnegie was committing his own resources to an itemised list of what his responsibilities were. Carnegie knew that he would be responsible not only for the spiritual education of the parishioners of Careston. He further agreed that the new parish should result in no burden on the lands in question for a schoolmaster or reader. This intimate connection between education and spiritual formation, the school and the church, is evident in these two terms being used in the same breath. The roles of reader and the schoolmaster, usually taken up by the same person, were fundamental for parish work in early modern Scotland, and Carnegie knew that. This was the ideal situation in post-Reformation Scotland, for the regular education of children to be wrapped up with the worship of the kirk. There was an ecclesiological point to be made here: the church would take responsibility for education in order to allow people to be fully participating members of the Church writ large. In other words, the ideal member of the Reformed kirk needed to be able to read and write. Once Carnegie had agreed to these terms, he could receive the legal authority over the teinds of the remaining lands of the new parish.

The grant of the teinds to Carnegie, taking into consideration the final decision by the General Assembly about the teinds of Nether Careston and Peathill, throws more light on some of the reasons this was such a complicated process. The grant describes Carnegie's decision to provide a manse and glebe, and to set aside 4,000 merks, with the rent from that money paying for the stipend of the minister. In addition,

> the teynd sheaves of the saids lands of Over Carrestoun and Pitforkie ... and alse the teynd sheaves of the lands of Balnabreiche with thair … pertinents, extending the teynd sheaves of the saidis lands … yeirlie to forty fyve bolls twa firlotts victuall, twa pairt meall and thrid part beir, and forty fyve pundis Scots money, as the samene … hes been in use to pay … to the late pretendit bischop of Brechine and his predicessors, are be the deposition and deprivation of the said late bischop … and throw the suppressing … of the estate … and callings of bischops and episcopacie fallen .. in his hienes hands … Thairfore our said soverane lord … mortifies … and … perpetuallie confirmes to the said kirk of Carrestoun and to the ministers … serving of that shall heirefter serve the cure at the said kirk … the saids teynd sheaves off .. the saids lands of Over Carrestoun Pitforkie and Balnabreiche.[21]

[21] 'Royal Grant' in Chalmers and Chalmers, eds., *Reg. Episc. Brech.*, p. 311.

The teinds of Carnegie's lands had been used as part of the income of the bishop of Brechin. The language in this royal grant demonstrates just how the policy of government had changed in three short years. Here was the bishop being labelled a pretender *during* his time in office. This was one of the significant outcomes of the tumult in the late 1630s: the understanding of the recent past was being used by many people to their own advantage. When episcopacy was abolished, its 'estate and calling' passed the lands into the hands of the Crown, allowing them to be used again to secure the kind of loyalty that lairds like Maule had given in exchange for landed wealth. The royal reallocation of episcopal rights and wealth seriously changed the face of the parish-level resourcing for churches, ministers, and education. Here was Carnegie participating in a system where he would gain support for a project he had initiated. The historical circumstances of episcopacy breaking down in the late 1630s certainly added to that effort, as long as the other hurdles put up by various other rightsholders such as Skinner and Maule were negotiated successfully. Carnegie was connected with powerful people who helped him overcome those barriers: his brother, David Carnegie Earl of Southesk, vouched for the bond Carnegie had signed. Maule was willing to accept Southesk's support as further indication that Carnegie would honour his commitments.[22] Southesk also looked elsewhere for help in securing an advantageous situation for his brother. He wrote to the Earl of Lanark, secretary of state for Scotland at court.[23] In fact, when the issue came before a presbytery meeting in Edinburgh, some of the younger ministers were loath to put their names to the agreement without more substantial backing from the Commission of Surrenders and Teinds, because of how powerful some of the noblemen involved were.[24]

The top-down nature of this kirk's story so far has left out some important perspectives. Even though there were very powerful noblemen involved in Careston, the parishioners being affected were not afraid of making their voices heard.

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[22] Bill for an inhibition at the instance of Patrick Maull of Panmure against David, Earl of Southesk, [1641]. Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie, Ecclesiastical Papers: NAS GD45/13/100.

[23] John J. Scally, *Hamilton, William, Second Duke of Hamilton (1616–1651)* (online) (Oxford University Press, 2004 [cited 30 November 2011]); available from http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12134. The earl of Southesk, Edinburgh, to the earl of Lanerick [Lanark], asking his help in retaining the gift of precinct of Arbroath, obtained from the king on the marquis of Hamilton's intervention and the writer's brother's gift of some teinds for the kirk of Carrestoun [Careston], 9 December 1641. Papers of the Douglas Hamilton Family, Dukes of Hamilton and Brandon, Correspondence of the Dukes of Hamilton, 1563–1712, GD406/1/1465.

[24] Letter from T. Guthrie to Alexander Keith, writer in Edinburgh, concerning proposed annexation of the lands of Balnabreich to the parish of Carrestoun, 1642. Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie, Ecclesiastical Papers: NAS GD45/13/103 f. 2.

Balnabriech was a part of the parish not yet mentioned, and it throws up a very important example of the challenges Carnegie had to overcome. The heritor, was Alexander Ramsay of Balnabriech, and his mother, together with two tenants on the land, submitted a supplication to the lords dealing with the case stating they did not wish their lands to be separated from the parish of Brechin and added to the new parish of Careston. They presented their case that the existing arrangements with Brechin parish church, 'Quhair [they] receave the word preached twyse on the Sabboth and in the weekdayes',[25] were more convenient and better suited to them for where they lived at Balnabriech. Their protestation was based partly on the proximity, but also significantly on their connection with the old parish church, where they wanted 'to injoye our wanted comfort in our awne paroche kirk of Brechin and lay our bones in the buriall of our predecessoris'. They also exposed some hypocrisy and inconsistencies in this decision, arguing that there were greater parts of Brechin parish that lay farther away from the parish church which were not under consideration for separation. They stated that those people 'want the forsaid comfortis of the word and buriall', while the parishioners from Balnabriech worried they would suffer a lack of spiritual direction if the union with Careston happened. This was an instance of the local power of the laird being more influential than that of the actual occupier of the land. For Carnegie was able to effect this adjustment of boundaries without securing the agreement of Alexander Ramsay, the other heritor for the land. Ramsay and his co-supplicants viewed the laird's motivation with a cynical eye: 'We apprehend the zeall and cair of our Salvatioune does not make suite for the unione but the lone of the teyndes'. They were really pushing hard here, questioning Carnegie's stated intentions of promoting God's glory and helping to edify his tenants' spiritual lives by building the new church and effecting the redistribution of the boundaries.

This document provides a relatively rare insight into the actual desires of simple and ordinary people. The two tenants on the land, Alexander Cramond and John Morris, are listed as 'tennentis occupares'. They were the type of people whose work on the land helped to produce the grains, fish, livestock, or other agricultural goods that made up the teinds of parishes throughout Scotland, thus supporting the practical and spiritual function of the Church. Yet their contribution to spiritual matters did not only consist of the products of their labour. They stated precisely

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[25] Petition by tenants of the lands of Balnabreiche against proposed disjunction of the said lands from the parish of Brechin and annexation to Carracstoune, 2 January 1642. Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie, Ecclesiastical Papers: NAS GD45/13/101.

what made up a proper spiritual experience of church for them: regular worship to hear the Word and physical remembrance of their predecessors. And ensuring it was evident they understood the basics of the Church was one of the strategies they could use to determine the fate of this change to their worshipping lives. Cramond and Morris, it can be stated confidently, did understand the complaint they were supporting with their names, because there was the added step of notarising their statements. For they could not write. Their non-literacy allows this document to provide a wide perspective on the effect of expanding the spiritual reach of the Church. It is possible that these men's experiences of parish worship reflected a general or even common situation. If the opinions of these tenant farmers could be extrapolated to others, Carnegie's stated intentions must be questioned. He was potentially being rather patronising in his quest to edify his tenants by building a new church, by changing significantly their worship experience. Though Cramond and Morris's theology was probably not the most sophisticated (there is no mention in the supplication of the need for the administration of sacraments), they had some of the basics right, and even claimed to attend worship on weekdays at Brechin parish church. Carnegie did not take their practical spiritual needs into account. There is no way to know with certainty that they were representative of the other tenants; it is possible, however, that Carnegie became guided by his own principles rather than the needs of the people whose lives he was trying to improve. These two ordinary people in this parish expressed a conservative opinion that their way of worshipping and expressing their spiritual lives was the more practical, more established, and overall better way to do things. This new church building complicates the story of Scottish Reformation: it provides clear evidence that ordinary people had ideas about worship that conflicted with the ideas of those who provided the top-down necessities for extending the Church's reach.

The request by Ramsay, his mother, Cramond, and Morris was not heeded, as Careston parish eventually came to comprise the lands of Balnabriech, along with the other lands of Over Careston and Pitforkie, as had been originally granted to Carnegie.[26] These lands, the teinds of the lands of Nether Careston and Peathill that Carnegie was able to wrest from the control of Patrick Maule of Panmure and the town of Brechin, the 4,000 merks, the glebe, and the manse he set aside for the maintenance of the minister permitted Careston parish kirk to be set up suitably for parish ministry for years to come. The church building here, then, was only one

[26]Chalmers and Chalmers, eds., *Reg. Episc. Brech.*, p. 311.

piece of the puzzle, and was probably the simplest piece. Carnegie's legacy to his community was not dramatic on the national scale, though it did feel the effects of certain national political and ecclesiastical developments, but it is very probable that the lives of the parishioners of Careston were significantly altered through the changing financial arrangements of this church. The national developments here trickled down to the parish level, so that the shift in policy away from episcopacy, even for nobles who were not entirely supportive of it, meant that titles to teinds and tacks of teinds changed hands because they became available for redistribution after the abolition of episcopacy. The fact that some of the nobles used this new source of patronage to endow church buildings is instructive about what they actually understood the effects of such changes to be on the country. Here in Careston and Angus's surrounding areas, the landed classes did not undertake these negotiations entirely for their own ends. Maule's behaviour in closely guarding his obligations and sources of income was a reaction from a laird who had recently gained much authority, responsibilities, and income. Similarly, Carnegie's efforts to make his lands pay and contribute to the ecclesiastical landscape benefited him greatly. Their competition with each other resulted in a thoroughly established parish, which underwent much scrutiny before it was able to operate fully. This was another instance of typical laird-against-laird competition, this time bolstered by the outcome of the national-level politics going on in this period. Even more, the two lairds both demonstrated just how adaptable they were to the consequences of structural shifts going on in the country and church at the time. They had found their success during the height of royal and episcopal power, but they then remained on a steady course once those powers were diminished in the royal case and lost completely in the episcopal case. This parish church at Careston and its story provide tremendous detail about the culture of people adapting, reacting, and negotiating in early modern Scotland. Without this story of building a new church, some of the flexibility shown by the early modern landed classes, and indeed their feudal inferiors, would be lost. And the evidence demonstrates conclusively that these people knew they were dealing with rather weighty matters: but this did not shake their determination. They continued steadfast in their localised projects.

Idea

Idea is closely related to need: frequently the practical needs of a place gave rise to the idea of building a new church. Yet there were also more idealistic reasons for the initiatives to build churches. In a place and time where theological ideas

about who and what constituted the Church were at the forefront of many people's minds, it is hardly surprising that the physical need for more church spaces would attach itself to the theological changes ushered in during the Reformation. Yet just how much theological ferment affected church building immediately after the Reformation is questionable. The Church and its supporters were still trying to work out exactly how the institution would be financed, and there was little money for building churches in the 1560s. There was a fresh need to adapt existing parish churches, many of which the Reformers considered might have led to idolatrous worship, to Reformed practices. Several notable churches throughout the period have this theological change idea somewhere in their story. Burntisland, Dairsie, and Prestonpans were projects that contained theological statements.

Burntisland, being an expression of how buildings no longer needed to conform to traditional forms, has provided much material for architectural history in the ensuing centuries. This square church has played many roles in such historical writing: as exemplar of Presbyterian polity, as revolutionary Renaissance space, as public ownership over buildings, or as homespun solution to Reformed needs.[27] Recently writers have placed the theological reasons for Burntisland's unique form in the background and focused on the particular economic and social traits that allowed the burgh to produce such an unusual building. This fairer assessment provides a rounder judgment of the building, but fortunately has also ensured that theological changes as reasons for differing building styles have not been lost completely. The theological or ecclesiastical idea in this Fife burgh was a large part of the decision to build the church, as were the major economic and cultural shifts happening there in the late sixteenth century. The burgh was becoming more prosperous and more people were moving from the rural section of the parish into the burgh, so the old building quickly lost its practical and spiritual reasons for being the focus of the parish.[28]

In Dairsie, which was not actually built as a parish church, but as a family chapel,[29] ecclesiastical ideas were at the forefront in the building's physical appearance, layout, and decoration. The building contained strong comments on the ecclesiastical beliefs of its patron and builder, Archbishop John Spottiswoode. There were royal

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[27] Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, F. MacDonald, 'Towards a Spatial Theory of Worship: Some Observations from Presbyterian Scotland', *Social and Cultural Geography* 3 (2002), Spicer, *Calvinist Churches*.

[28] Spicer, *Calvinist Churches*, pp. 50–51.

[29] Ibid., p. 72.

arms on top of a chancel wall and classical motifs mixed with Gothic elements, for example.[30] Spottiswoode had various reasons for establishing a family chapel on his newly acquired land.[31] He was most proud later in life of what the building represented. He called it one of the most beautiful churches in Scotland, and contrasted its ordered appearance with the destruction that had been wrought by the Reformation. The necessary mixing of theology and ecclesiology to produce a building which sat as an essay in Erastianism would have needed much thought and planning. Whereas other parish churches were influenced by their parishioners and heritors, Dairsie was an individual project. This was purely an ideas project.

Prestonpans, in East Lothian, was a project initiated and brought to fruition by its minister, John Davidson. He was zealous to build a church for his congregation, as the previous fourteenth-century building had been burned by Hereford and his troops during the Rough Wooings. Davidson set his sights on help from Lord Newbattle, who inherited jurisdiction over the church that had once belonged to Holyrood Abbey.[32] The nobleman decided late in discussions that building a church outside his own lands would prejudice his tenants; he decided to build a church on his own lands. It is not certain whether this church was built or not. At Prestonpans, the minister made sure his building went up, one of the few in the 1590s.[33] Davidson was zealous for the Reformation from early in his career: he knew John Knox and produced laudatory literature of him.[34] The Prestonpans minister also knew trouble:

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[30] Architectural historians have seen this syncretic style as a particular choice in Spottiswoode's aesthetics which indicated a conscious return to Gothic forms. Deborah Howard describes the church in terms of 'High Anglican neo-medievalism' while Richard Fawcett argues that Dairsie church saw a return of the Gothic after an interruption, expressing 'the new interest in medieval architecture as an identifiable expression of doctrinal attitudes'. See Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, p. 191, and Fawcett, *The Architecture of the Scottish Medieval Church, 1100–1560*, p. 401. From the perspective as a more general historian, Marinell Ash argues that using Gothic 'indicates a vestigial feeling that Gothic was still the most suitable style for worship based on historic models'. See Marinell Ash, 'Dairsie and Archbishop Spottiswoode', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 19 (1976): p. 130. The importance here, though, is that Spottiswoode was intentionally using style as an expression of ideas.

[31] His acquisition of the estates was something of an historical coda, as the lands of Dairsie had anciently been held by the bishops of St Andrews. He felt a connection to the church until the end of his life, requesting in vain to be buried there. John Spottiswoode, *The history of the church of Scotland, beginning the year of our Lord 203, and continued to the end of the reign of King James the VI*, 4th ed. (London,: [s.n.], 1677), i, cx.

[32] Robert Moffat Gillon, *John Davidson of Prestonpans, Reformer, Preacher and Poet in the Generation after Knox* (London: J. Clarke & Co., Ltd, 1936), pp. 132–33.

[33] See *figure 4.4.*

[34] Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, New ed., vol. 1, Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1915), p. 387.

he was imprisoned for offending at different times Regent Morton and King James, mostly for criticism of their policies of toying with kirk revenues and representation. He saw the need for a parish kirk, as Preston and Prestonpans were growing,[35] but he also had ideological conviction behind his choice to initiate the building. He may have been worried about the sort of revenue appropriation he had seen in his youth and throughout his training, which he had written so vehemently against. He would not have wanted this to happen to the parish that had welcomed him back from exile on the Continent. He paid for the kirk and manse himself, leaving only the glebe to be provided by George Hamilton of Preston, the local laird who was of lesser rank than Newbattle. Davidson seems to have used this project as a confrontation, similar in style to his literary invectives against the king and the Regent Morton several decades earlier, to Lord Newbattle: 'With difficulty did we get that Church brot that length, but those walls shall stand to the coming of the Lord, as witnesses against the hinderers of it.'[36] John Davidson's initiative to build a kirk at Prestonpans, as with the previous two examples, contained a mixture of practical needs, ideology, and personal agenda.

Ideas were at the centre of preparing for a church building project. Communicating these ideas to others, be they future parishioners, the ecclesiastical institutions above the local parish, or the political power centres, was another matter. Often in this realm where news of smaller places travelled slowly, the fact that someone had an idea to build a new church only reached Parliament, for example, long after the building stood. The delayed legislative approval indicated that the institutional role in local affairs was an important, if irregular, one. This step also provided the building and its builder some legitimacy. This fact of early modern Scottish life led to such admixtures of theological positions and practical needs as are seen in the three preceding examples. Yet as aspects of these stories have hinted, ideas did not provide the bread and butter, as it were, of preparing for a building project. There were far more practical considerations to undertake so that the shovels could actually break the ground.

People

Fundamentally linked to early modern institutions were the people who ran them and those who ran up against them. The people involved in building a church

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[35] *RPS,* 1605/6/58.

[36] Quoted in Gillon, *John Davidson of Prestonpans*, p. 139, from Wodrow MS, p. 41.

will have come together with a particular purpose in mind. It is difficult to determine just when the need for a church in a place became legitimate enough to justify investing the necessary time, money, and will required to advance the project to the building and eventually finishing stages. Various documented reasons for committing so much to a building project have come through in the records. Patrick Scheves from Kemback is an example of a man who tied his commitment to the practical reality of a building in such a disastrous state that is was not suitable for worship.

Lairds were more often than not the people involved in creating new rural parish church buildings. Their energetic initiation of the projects is strong in the historical record because much of the documentation available attests to the financial value of teinds and what the church buildings could contribute to the gentry's financial security. Men like Alexander Forbes Lord Pitsligo, Sir Alexander Carnegie of Balnamoon, or Hugh Montgomery Viscount Montgomery of Airds had hugely diverse interests, yet they were all interested in the responsibilities of spiritual provision for the people of their lands. It was expected that they should describe their motivations to be for furthering the glory of God, yet it is impossible to ignore the significant social benefits of being a patron and heritor of a church, along with the sometimes heated competition within the higher status groups, as reflected in the dealings between Sir Alexander Carnegie of Balnamoon and Patrick Maule of Panmure.

Money

The costs of building a church were vitally important matters to work out before a project started. In Scotland the people involved in building churches had several options available to them for financing the building of a church. This depended on where the church was, what sort of building those who envisioned it wanted, and the length of the project. The location could be in a small burgh such as Lauder or Fenwick, in a rural setting such as Dairsie or Olrig, or in a city such as Edinburgh.

Financial provision for the early modern kirk came from a warren of ancient rights, diverse sources and levels of income, interests of noblemen, and growing groups of urban settlements. This could describe provision just for the ministry, let alone the financial requirements of building churches. Much depended on where the parish was located, and whose rights were interested in the productivity of the land or the taxation of the burgh-dwellers. In a rural settlement, the land was directly linked to the church's finances, as the teinds, that is, what constituted one-tenth of the

produce for the year, were the traditional source of income for the parish. Because the complicated financial systems that had evolved through the Middle Ages had often alienated this income from its parish, there were other parties interested in the financial side of a parish. The teinds of a parish supported what was called its benefice. A benefice was regarded as a piece of property: it could be held by a person or corporate body without serving the cure of the parish, that is doing the actual parochial ministry.[37] In centuries past an abbey could have been granted the income of a parish in return for providing a vicar, a priest to stand in for the benefice-holder, with a stipend. This practice soon became very attractive to the more powerful in society—the large abbeys, cathedral chapters, and eventually the Crown. The Crown had become by the mid-sixteenth century completely entwined in the church's administration and finances, partly through this practice. After the Reformation and during the civil wars of the 1560s and 1570s the Crown used this legal situation to secure the patronage of many parish churches. Even though the Reformers pushed hard for separating the temporality and spirituality of the church—that is, the connection between the landed income and the right to appoint spiritual ministers—parochial income throughout Scotland became an important tool for the Crown to bestow favours on its loyal noblemen. The Crown benefited greatly from the distinction between the pre-Reformation financial structure of the church, which fell into its hands, and the spiritual ministry.[38]

Growing secular responsibility for church finances is one of the major trends of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Scotland. Though the process had in fact started well before the 1560 Reformation, most patronage still lay in the hands of the church as an institution. For the income (that which was owed to the benefice-holder) and the patronage (the right to appoint a vicar to serve the cure of a parish) were separate privileges.[39] The Crown could assign revenues of church lands to noblemen, specifically as a reward for service and loyalty, because it had inherited much of the church's income. Two-thirds of all church income after the Reformation went to the existing benefice-holders, one-third was shared between the

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[37] Margaret H.B. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation : People and Change, 1490–1600* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997), p. 23.

[38] James Kirk, 'The Exercise of Ecclesiastical Patronage by the Crown, 1560–1572', in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in Honour of Gordon Donaldson*, ed. Ian B. Cowan and Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983), p. 95.

[39] Ibid., pp. 93–95.

Kirk and the Crown. Eventually the Crown would take over the benefices from the existing pre-Reformation holders.

Those who controlled the lands and income of particular churches often also retained control over how the building would eventually look and sit within its environment.[40] For this reason these details of income are vital to the story of preparations. The idea that ecclesiastical patronage was a decent and effective way of showing power through spending continued unabated throughout this period. However different this trend in its execution became after the Reformation, the basic need continued for rich people in the realm to display their wealth through churches. Urban churches also demonstrated a varied relationship with wealth.

Greyfriars kirk in Edinburgh was an idea long before it became a reality. This kirk came out of the need in the realm's largest burgh for more space for churchgoers. The process by which the former land of the Greyfriars in the south part of the burgh came into the hands of the town council is part of the story. By the 1560s, the kirkyard of St Giles' was becoming fuller and fuller, and the new Reformed preference not to bury the dead inside the body of the kirk was further restricting the potential places for burials. Queen Mary granted the land of the Franciscan Greyfriars, who had left shortly after the Reformation, to the Town Council for the purpose in 1562. The Town immediately set to work on improving the site for burials, though restricting such use to the northern part of the yard. This would prove beneficial several decades later when the idea for a kirk itself came about. As with the Tron's parish, the congregation was one of the original four formed out of St Giles' in 1583. By 1598, this Southwest Quarter congregation was worshipping in the tolbooth part, or western end, of St Giles', under the ministry of Robert Rollock, the first rector of the University of Edinburgh, and Peter Hewat.

In 1601, the kirk sessions in Edinburgh persuaded the Town Council to look into the possibility of providing more space for worshippers in Edinburgh. The town's churches were not big enough to provide room for everyone to hear the sermon on Sunday. They decided the land they had inherited from the Greyfriars would be suitable for a kirk and set about the initial planning stages. It is unclear whether this move was a planned outcome of the request for burial rights twenty years before, or whether it was a natural progression of an expanding (or more well-Reformed) town population. The fact they needed space for the dead twenty years

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[40] Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, p. 186.

before needing space for the living shows that the project to create a kirk building was much more involved than the move to start burying the dead in another location. This was a kirk project that had an obvious need, had the suitable physical space, had a relatively sure source of income, and had materials close at hand. The council assigned £500 to build the church, and decided it should be 120 feet long by 60 feet wide. By July 1602, the Sciennes nunnery south of the burgh had been stripped for its stones and doors to start the building project. This preparing stage of the Greyfriars' Kirk consisted of several stages, some of which can be conflated. The initial separation of the congregation was the first preparation towards building the kirk: the parish needed to be its own institution, that is to have its own ministry, laymen, kirk session, and identity within the parishes of Edinburgh. The established, practising, and living congregation inevitably expanded and needed more room for itself. The church and its surrounding area were full: several congregations worshipped within St Giles', with different ministers reacting to the vicissitudes of the Scottish ecclesiastical polity. Even more, the various civil bodies that occupied the area around St Giles', even parts of the building, added to that pressure. This developing of an independent identity, both institutional and as a worshipping congregation, strengthened the notion that the southwest quarter deserved its own building. The expansion of the burial needs, though practical, provided another preparatory step for this kirk building. The financial outlay of the Town Council's money ensured this parish came heavily under the influence of the Town Council.[41]

Greyfriars' establishment, being an older parish occupying a new building, did not have to face the bureaucratic wrangling that some of the other kirks went through when they were new parishes set up with new buildings. The nature of this move out of the tolbooth part of St Giles' dealt with several of the potential problems leaders of a new church could face: there was no need to convince parishioners to come to the new church, the kirk session was already functioning (though the surviving records only start in 1700), and the land was available. Even though these things were straightforward, it took a full 12 years at least from the initial idea of building a new church on the land to starting to build the project, let alone occupying it. This is why the preparing stage of the process is so important to the cultural history of church building in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scotland.

Anstruther Easter kirk in Fife was a church building project that preceded all these preparatory stages: the building was finished before the institutional structure of

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[41] Stewart, *Urban Politics*, pp. 64–66.

the church was established. The church's place in the preparing-building spectrum of the process needs clarifying. The financial, institutional, and physical preparatory stages were distinct from the building work itself, and the institutional moves towards independence only happened once the necessity was there. That is, once the building was constructed and the people were ready to start worshipping did the leadership of the burgh decide it needed its own parish. The first mention of the new kirk in the records is when the burgh and bailies petitioned the Convention of Royal Burghs for money to build the church.[42] There was evidently a movement afoot in the burgh to build the church, and they were testing their options for how to pay for such a project. The Convention was a good place to start, as it had the power and means necessary to provide financial aid. By looking outside its own burgh for help to build the church, the key people involved, the bailies of the burgh and Sir William Anstruther of that ilk, the local laird, connected this project to the institutional life of the realm from its beginning.[43]

The financial preparation with the grant from the Convention represents only part of the story. The sum, 3,000 merks, was enough to start building a church, but not enough to see the project through. So this was a complement to the financial outlay the town and laird made to provide this church. Sir William had provided the land himself out of his own barony, which indicates he was a charitable man. Yet the usefulness of separating the land from a bigger parish must also be taken into account if we are to see the man's actions as charitable. He had interest in ensuring the recent trend of Anstruther burgh being the larger and faster-growing centre on this particular part of Fife's coastline. His control over the burgh, harbour, and surrounding barony would have been a large part of his own financial security. By understanding the townspeople wanted their own separate church from the Kilrenny parish church, Sir William was preparing for a surge in Anstruther's growth and potential economic output. Certainly it is important not to see later events as determined or somehow mystically foreseen by the landowner—yet it is important to realize the level of responsibility the lairds had for the development of their regions. The symbiotic relationship of (feudal laird and burgher) was vital for seventeenth-century economy. Taking the long view was part of the landowner's job. As we can see from the

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[42] General Convention of Burghs Grants Anstruther Easter 3,000 merks, 11 July 1635. Miscellaneous papers and charters, RH1/2/576.

[43] This project had even more institutional connections that are representative of seventeenth-century Scotland. The Building and Relating chapters show how this type of settlement, the coastal burgh, was particularly well suited for connections in many aspects of society in seventeenth-century Scotland. See pp. 106ff and pp. 179ff.

documentation about this particular kirk, the long view could consist of spiritual provision for people.[44]

Olrig parish church was under the patronage of the Sinclairs of Mey, the earls of Caithness. It was probably rebuilt from the remnants of a medieval church in 1633.[45] James VI had presented ministers up to 1585.[46] The congregation did not leave much of a record of the preparing stage for its formation. In Olrig's case, evidence exists that ministry existed at the site before the 1633 church was erected. There is a relatively continuous list of men leading worship in the Fasti, starting with an exhorter in 1570 and the first minister in 1572, indicating at least that the benefice was an active one. There was also a parson, who was himself a Sinclair, on the benefice as early as 1563.[47] Even though George Sinclair Earl of Caithness was not dealing directly with the parish's land matters, perhaps this was part of the reason Olrig parish came onto the Sinclairs' radar. They eventually became the patrons of the parish after it left the patronage of Dornoch Cathedral. Yet this church also provides an example of the most common parochial situation in Scotland following the Reformation. Because the Reformed Church inherited the institutional and physical structure of its Roman Catholic predecessor, many parishes remained intact in their boundaries and in the financial systems of support. In this case, the parish was appropriated to Dornoch Cathedral, a situation which switched to royal patronage, or at least the royal right to admit ministers, by the 1580s. Even though the bishop of Caithness had been one of the three bishops who embraced the Reformation in 1560, the local nobles were not fully on board.[48] This presumably trickled down to the parish level in the following decades. The unique political situation of the far north in Scotland, not to mention the instability of the whole realm during the 1570s, will

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[44] Another church building that represents an active landowner exerting his influence in a similar way was Kirkintilloch or Lenzie parish kirk, which was a prebendary of Glasgow cathedral, and within the lands of Cambuskenneth abbey. The Crown granted these lands to John Erskine, Earl of Mar, in 1604. Yet the situation changed slightly, because by 1607, the Presbytery of Glasgow had ordered a new kirk to be built. Here the middle level of church administration co-opted the financial clout of an earl in order to get a new parish built.

[45] See *figure 4.5*.

[46] Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, New ed., vol. 7, Synods of Ross, Sutherland and Caithness, Glenelg, Orkney and of Shetland, the Church in England, Ireland and overseas (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1928), p. 128.

[47] Extract discharge by Mr William Sinclare, parson of Olrig, to George, Earl of Caithness, for satisfaction of contract, 1 July 1563, relative to lands of Kirklatroune, of 300 merks scots, and grants said lands to be duly redeemed, 8 August 1566. Papers of the Campbell Family, Earls of Breadalbane, documents relating to Caithness: NAS GD112/58/1/15.

[48] J.B. Craven, *A History of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Caithness* (Kirkwall: William Peace, 1908), pp. 32–33.

also have added to the difficult ecclesiastical situation.[49] There is a combination of continuity and change exemplified in this parish church. Royal patronage had for some time before the Reformation been a useful tool for exerting the Crown's power. So the parish's switch from being under the financial jurisdiction of the diocesan cathedral to the Crown was not, in this case, a cause of the Reformation in 1560. This church exhibits some characteristics of the systems from before and after the Reformation, even though it was rebuilt more than seventy years after the Crisis. It does not provide clear evidence that it can be seen as an example of a truly Reformed church building in process.

Congregation

One of the most important steps in the preparing process was determining who would eventually worship in a parish kirk once it was built. The Scottish parochial system had evolved in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and had attempted to encompass spiritual care for the majority of the population at the time.[50] The boundaries of the dioceses and parishes had remained relatively consistent up to 1560, though many innovations were tried throughout our period to change the geographical organisation of the church. The principle remained: to provide suitable opportunities for spiritual care for the majority of the population. Many of the churches discussed in this thesis were simply renewal buildings for old parishes: their timescale—the physical need to replace them—met up with the period after the Reformation. Certainly many churches benefited from the more liberal attitude towards the provision for physically suitable spaces for worship. Put simply, often a congregation for a new building was already in place. Parishioners, who had, in many of the cases discussed here, become used to the Reformed manner of worship, would have expected to see familiar faces in their congregation after the new building opened. Even in a place where a new parish was set up for the new building, as in the case of Elie in Fife, fellow townspeople would make up the parishioners. In this kirk, the first few months of the kirk session's business was taken up with how to place people in the new church. The people were familiar to them, because they came from the same town. In Anstruther Easter, parishioners were delineated after the building was put up: but this planning would have happened long before the

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[49] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed, 1488–1587*, p. 272.

[50] Taxation documentation survives from the late thirteenth century showing the rudimentary outlines of Scottish ecclesiastical organization. See McNeill and MacQueen, *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*, p. 336–65.

project got going. In this situation, the existing parish was not convenient. The separation of the urban settlement at Anstruther into two burghs, Anstruther Easter and Anstruther Wester, was part of the issue. The people living in the burgh of Anstruther Easter and the surrounding barony of Anstruther were part of Kilrenny parish. The two original parishes were owned by different ecclesiastical institutions: Kilrenny by Dryburgh Abbey and Anstruther Wester by Pittenweem Priory.

Conclusion

Ideas for church buildings came from every direction, being informed by ecclesiology, politics, finance, and geography, and many more factors. There was no sensible pattern of where buildings with these ideas might come from in the early modern period. The major motivations were often finance and politics, with the benefactors of churches seeking to endear themselves with regional and national authorities by setting up a church in a particular area. Not all buildings needed this sort of 'loaded' initiative, however. There were some, such as Kemback and Kirkintilloch, where the practical needs of the surrounding parish were the main motivators for preparing to build a church. Yet it is impossible to ignore that finance was a major motivation for many lairds. They needed to make good on the grants they received as part of their loyal service as the nobility of the land. This was an inevitable result of the king's attempts to streamline the functioning of property rights and church finances. The landed classes were always going to fight for their rights, and setting up church building projects was one of the ways of doing this, with the added bonus of possibly gaining advantage over a rival.

Ordinary people could also play a role, mostly in urban situations. Yet the fantastic remnant of the illiterate tenants from the Careston story demonstrates that even ordinary rural people had serious interests in not just the planning and provision of place for them in church, but specific interests that conflicted with the pure doctrine and worship many in the church intended as the outworking of Reformed ideals. Church buildings for some ordinary people were simply symbols indicating where they mourned for their ancestors, and this fact weighed heavily on people when they were faced with novelty. Yet for the most part, when recourse was made to the interests of ordinary people in the documents, the theological terms feature heavily: hearing the word, receiving the administration of the sacraments. Those responsible for building churches knew they needed to justify that very novelty that

was jarring to some people with reassurances that the buildings would be for pure Reformed religion alone.

The consistent sense from the evidence and narratives presented, though, was that people at many different levels of society had needs which could be met with church buildings. These may have been practical or spiritual, but at their most important, they were real needs met by expanding the availability of room for worship. In that sense, preparing for the church building was cultural because the process involved many of the fundamental structures of society. Those fundamental structures of society were flexible enough that participating in the process of preparing to build a church allowed people across the social spectrum to use them, add to them, and experience them in ways that made those church building projects a significant social tool.

Preparing chapter images

Figure 4.1, Robert Edward, *Angusia Provincia Scotiae, The Shire of Angus*, 1678.

Figure 4.2, Careston church from NW, 2011.

Figure 4.3, detail of Carnegie arms, 2011.

Figure 4.4, Prestonpans church from N, 2011. The harled tower on the right is the only 16th-century section of the building visible.

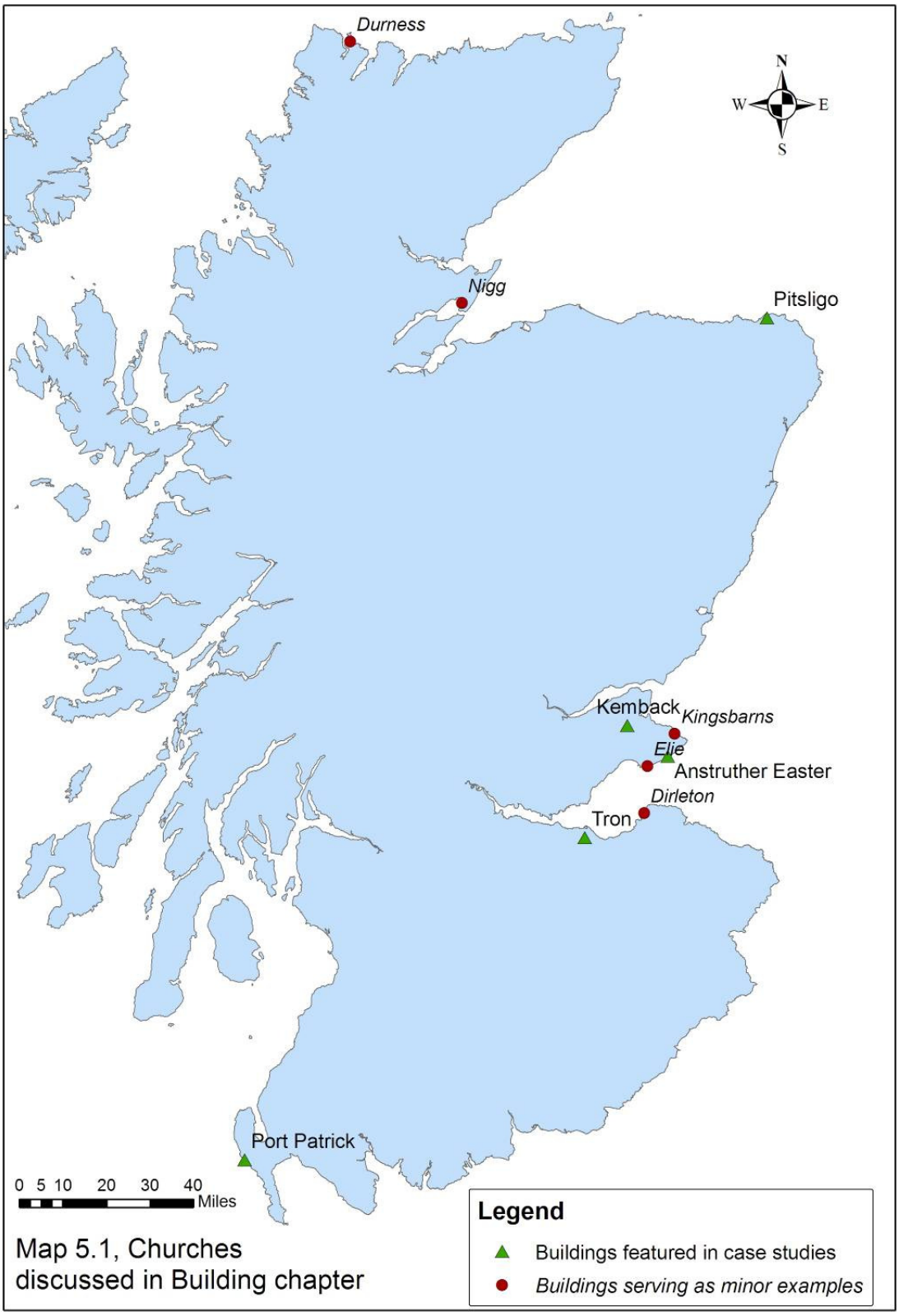
Figure 4.5, Skewput from Olrig church, with ‘1633’ and ‘MDB’ for ‘Minister David Bruce’

Building churches in Scotland

Introduction

Early modern church buildings were cultural places. They reflect and house many of the ways people dealt with the world around them. For the first few years of these buildings' lives, however, this encounter with culture was not concrete: a church would not be ready to receive its occupants and imbue its space with meaning until well after it was built. A new church had to be made ready to take on this role. The Reformed environment in Scotland permitted this generous definition of a house for culture, as long as it did not approach the near heresy that gave a building intrinsic holiness. There were many reasons for people to take on the challenge of building a church between 1560 and 1645 and they can reveal a great deal about the culture of early modern Scotland. The ordinary church buildings of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Scotland are hardly great architectural monuments. With few notable exceptions, they do not fit into the stereotypical view of important architecture being building work which captures or evokes the spirit of an age, people, or culture. These workhorses of buildings, doing the simple but ubiquitous job of being houses for worship, represent an important part of the physical cultural history of the realm. Their form, simplicity, focus, and distribution speak to the historian of a people committed to housing the institutional church. The national church was one which needed a house: by the seventeenth century, Scotland had enough money, confidence, and stability to start building that house.

Five parish church buildings will provide case studies within this chapter: Anstruther Easter, Pitsligo, the Tron, Kemback, and in most detail, Portpatrick. These churches have particularly interesting stories that demonstrate a vibrant culture of building in early modern Scotland. They are varied in environment, style, origin, and influence. They go from small and humble country kirk to large urban status symbol; from representing politically charged ambition to a local laird being annoyed with a minister. These five kirks represent different aspects of the story of building Scotland's Reformed culture. A few other kirks reveal important characteristics and can show other parts of the building process.



Map 5.1, Churches discussed in Building chapter

Background

The Scottish Reformation Crisis of 1560 took an especial interest in the physical plant of the late medieval church. The Reformers claimed that parts of the church's idolatry and lost way were summed up in the opulent and exquisite cathedrals, abbeys, and friaries that dotted Scotland. The great buildings were financed mostly through the system of appropriation that impoverished the parish churches of the realm. The theology of building in the late medieval kirk, too, was suspect: holiness that emanated from saints or ceremonies of dedication was anathema to the Reforming church.

The Reformed church therefore had a problem: its physical inheritance in the form of buildings was at odds with its beliefs. The problem was not only with the great buildings: even simpler parish churches could be idolatrous. In one of the first meetings of the General Assembly in December 1560, the body found that Restalrig parishioners had abandoned their kirk to worship in the church at Leith. They decided that 'the [collegiate] kirk of Restalrig, as a monument of idolatry, [should] be razed and utterly cast down and destroyed.'[1] This 'pick-and-choose' destruction was not sustainable given the institution's finances, though. The Reformers eventually realised they would need, especially in the first years, to adapt the existing churches throughout the realm to their own Reformed needs. Once the Reformed Kirk was established, however, and more confidence arose, people became willing to support building more churches.[2] The five separate stories of church building demonstrate how that support changed into reality.

These wholly built projects successfully made the transition from being an idea with support to becoming a physical church building. Alongside the practical issues of finance, land, and ministry, the analysis will demonstrate how this part of a church's life was especially cultural: that is, a time when relationships and structures formed and influenced later decisions, behaviours, and community. For church in the early modern period was community. This organisation of the church of Scotland was how many people in the realm related to others, both immediately and on a larger scale.

One need look no further than the activities of the post-Reformation kirk session to see just how intertwined were secular and sacred life in early modern

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[1] Duncan Shaw, ed., *The Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, 1560 to 1618* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 2004), vol. 1, p. 5.

[2] See Fawcett, *The Architecture of the Scottish Medieval Church, 1100–1560*, pp. 394ff.

Scotland. The church organised life at every stage: baptism, education, sexual relationships, courtships, and marriages, spiritual edification, political allegiances, and, even reluctantly, death commemoration all fell under the remit of ecclesiastical discipline. In normal life, people simply went through these milestones, and the institutional church guided them. Yet when it came to infractions in these spheres, the church also delighted in getting involved in people's lives: the many cases seeking to repress fornication, fighting, and festivity in most kirk session record books show real life in action. At the local level, ecclesiastical involvement meant something realistic to people. When considered nationally, this newly Reformed church was a way of connecting people throughout Scotland.

Building as metaphor

The National church frequently saw itself as a project that needed building—here we move into the metaphorical meaning of the word. The General Assembly in 1567 alerted the nobility to the problems facing the church by saying it is 'needful to repair the decay and ruin of that Kirk, so virutously begun amongst us'. The General Assembly 'recommend to your care and solicitude the building of this ruinous house of God within this realm'.[3] This universal yet local thinking was consistent with Reformed theology of the church, and worked in favour of those trying to promote the church as a ground-up project. The metaphor of the physical temple of God being represented by his people on Earth also had biblical foundations: Christ's role as the cornerstone in the building of the community of God's faithful is central.[4] In 1567, Scottish Reformers considered the ruinous state of buildings as reflecting the ruin of the spiritual church. As the power players in the realm coalesced, one practical outworking was a renewal of building interest: one way to fight against the spiritual ruin would be to confront physical ruin.

By 1645, the ecclesiastical and political contexts of church and cultural history were creating a Scotland that was entirely different from the country during the prior century. The liturgical changes ushered in during the 1630s and 1640s with the failed prayer book and the Westminster Directory mark an important shift in Scottish ecclesiastical (and political) history. Further, the chronology of buildings demonstrates how more and more churches were being constructed in the 1630s and

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[3] Shaw, ed., *The Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, 1560 to 1618*, vol. 1, p. 121.

[4] See for example, Is. 28: 16, Eph. 2: 11–22, 1 Pet. 2: 4–7.

1640s. These buildings were also more sophisticated expressions of ecclesiastical architecture. Indeed, by 1645, a culture of church building existed in Scotland.

Building and design

Yet before the cultural aspects of building a church could happen or exist, the building needed to be designed. Architecture in early modern Scotland, especially for churches, was not a set discipline or trade in the way it would develop especially in post-Restoration Scotland and England. The professional 'architect' remained elusive for several decades. Yet there are a few examples from Scottish building in the seventeenth century that show the trade was developing into a profession. As we will see below, the man involved in one of the major urban constructions in Scotland in the first half of the seventeenth century was one such builder who was blurring the divisions between professionalising skill and wage-earning labour. Still, for most projects in Scotland as in most of Europe, large building projects would mainly be overseen by the master mason. This man would usually design the building, keeping track of types of materials, costs, and worker managing. He would be trained, having gone through an apprenticeship and having apprenticed others. The master mason might not be involved in the physical labour anymore, having laid aside the axe and chisel for his juniors to take up after him.[5] The divisions between skilled craftsmen and labourers ensured a hierarchical system of earning, work, and training. There were distinct cultural structures on early modern worksites that provided for consistency and continuity in the trade.[6]

Several aspects of Scottish seventeenth-century church design are important for the analysis: the preponderance for wide, shallow churches to connect the congregation with preaching and the sacraments is one obvious design characteristic. In building the church, the traditional nave space was the first section to be finished,

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[5] William Addis, *Building: 3000 Years of Design Engineering and Construction* (London: Phaidon Press, 2007), pp. 149–50, Douglas Knoop and Gwilym Peredur Jones, *The Mediaeval Mason: An Economic History of English Stone Building in the Later Middle Ages and Early Modern Times* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1949), pp. 197, 218, 233. Knoop and Jones mention especially how Scottish building evolved in much the same way as English building.

[6] Donald Woodward, *Men at Work : Labourers and Building Craftsmen in the Towns of Northern England, 1450–1750, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), especially chs. 1–3. The vast historical topic of Freemasonry, which is beyond the scope of this thesis, is especially relevant in early modern Scotland, as it was in Edinburgh during this period that the organisations that were the mason's lodges in the country started to develop into more than a traditional craft gild. Over the course of the seventeenth century, Masonic Lodges were to become a societal force in themselves divorced from their origins in the building trade. See David Stevenson, *The Origins of Freemasonry : Scotland's Century, 1590–1710* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

to satisfy the congregational need as soon as possible, as can be seen from many churches which had the body of the church built long before a tower or extra aisles were added. Compare this with the predominant pattern for medieval churches, where the chancel—the clerical space—was usually the first priority. There was still no standard form for church buildings by the early seventeenth century: there had only been seven new churches built between the Reformation Crisis and 1600. Of them, no distinct patterns, though interesting novelties, came up. A stark differentiation between pre-Reformation spatial organisation and post-Reformation spatial organisation was part of the ideal for church buildings: any intrinsic holiness in a building must be swept aside in favour of holiness coming from the piety of godly believers.[7] This was simply done in existing buildings: pulpits and seating changed positions, rood screens and images came down, and communicants gathered round tables in chancels. Yet by the seventeenth century, especially when the new buildings this thesis is concerned with were established, these simple changes had become the norm. To depart from them, as can be seen from the strong reactions against liturgical innovation in the first half of the seventeenth century, was tantamount to changing or deforming the kirk.

The shapes of churches we are dealing with are important. Much has been made of the reorientation toward the pulpit and preaching within seventeenth-century buildings. This is no myth and is an important characteristic against which to compare exceptions. As for newly built churches in the period, it is often the later ones which fall into this design: Kingsbarns, Anstruther Easter, and the Tron at Edinburgh (1632, 1637, and 1637–1647). (Dirleton kirk gained a south aisle in 1664, Durness gained a north aisle in 1692, Nigg gained a north aisle and the belfry in the eighteenth century[8].) Pitsligo (1634) was a T-plan with the aisle set aside exclusively for the laird's loft, and Elie (1639) had a gallery above the laird's burial aisle in the north aisle. The T-plan kirks became the pattern for Scottish churches some time in the seventeenth century, and truly established themselves nationally in the great church-building boom of the eighteenth century.[9]

The designs of new post-Reformation church buildings were practical and influenced by the existing building stock. Most started as plain rectangular churches,

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[7] Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, III. xx. 30.

[8] John Gifford, *Highland and Islands*, *The Buildings of Scotland* (London: Penguin in association with the Buildings of Scotland Trust, 1992), p. 557, p. 440, Colin McWilliam and Christopher Wilson, *Lothian, except Edinburgh*, *The Buildings of Scotland* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), p. 173.

[9] Hay, *The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches, 1560–1843*.

perhaps an indication of how timid church users were of a reorientation. The churches that gained an aisle later, Dirleton, Durness, and Nigg, have little in common.[10] There is little evidence of how these three churches were designed, and from where they gained influence, though of the three, Nigg is the only one that occupied a medieval site. This happened often in Scotland: rectangular churches would simply use the foundations of their medieval predecessors, keeping the design principles of the building from the earlier centuries.[11] This does not leave us in the dark as much as it could do. It was a conscious decision on behalf of the builders to reuse these foundations. Though the decision may have been entirely practical, the benefits of reusing foundations still outweighed the benefits of being able to design a church from the ground up, as in other buildings. Further, it may be the case that churches such as Nigg incorporated significant parts of the medieval fabric as well:

> Indeed, when a post-medieval church is known to occupy the site of its medieval predecessor, if it is aligned from east to west, and if it is significantly longer along that axis than from north to south, the assumption should probably be that there are medieval walls below a later surface finish.[12]

In Nigg's case the chronology is clear that the bulk of the new church's building work happened in the 1620s, meaning that such assumptions may not always be helpful. A more useful distinction would be between churches being rebuilt as intentionally different from their predecessors, rather than simple parish churches such as Nigg which were going through a cycle of decay and renewal. In some places in Scotland, where architectural forms were simple, the distinctions between medieval and early seventeenth century should be softened. When compared with most of the other new buildings of the period, Nigg is one of the few where the parishioners were not moving to a different location to worship. In other places, a new building housed a new parish, which establishment was an important reason for building the new church. Elsewhere, new buildings housed relocated parishes, and these buildings were part of builds with more meaning than simply repairing a fallen-down kirk: consciously deciding to abandon a medieval kirk pointed townsfolk toward the future. So investigating church design can show some of the results of why churches and groups remade buildings. The practical reality at Nigg was that the site had been a sacred one for many years, with Reformed ministry happening there early on, and the

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[10] See *figures 5.1* to *5.4*.

[11] Hay, *The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches, 1560–1843*, p. 31.

[12] Fawcett, *The Architecture of the Scottish Medieval Church, 1100–1560*, p. 399.

creekside location having hosted a church since Pictish times. This was an established parish. The long narrow rectangular building took direct influence from this parish's past.

At Dirleton and Durness, where the bodies of the churches were much bigger than at Nigg, the design of the initial kirk was not restricted to medieval foundations. At Dirleton, the church was initiated by an act of parliament that was concerned about the existing kirk's state: Gullane, according to the act, was less prosperous a village than Dirleton. The kirk there was often overblown with sand, and far away from most of the parish's inhabitants. Parliament charged Thomas Erskine, Lord Dirleton, to demolish the kirk at Gullane and rebuild it, using the same stones, at Dirleton. Whether or not the new church at Dirleton actually incorporated Gullane's stones is less significant in this case. The intention for Dirleton kirk was to receive and replace a church that had outlived its building. The building was no longer convenient physically and for worship. The new one therefore needed to accommodate the existing parish. This would not be an exercise in experimental or ostentatious church design. Lord Dirleton had interests in many churches, so this probably would not have been placed high on his distant priority list as a way of displaying his power.[13]

At Durness, there is little evidence for the church's early design. The church is said to have been built by Donald Mackay of Farr (later Lord Reay) in 1619.[14] Yet the presence of a prominent tomb very early in the church's life (1623) of one closely related or loyal to Mackay indicates its early use as a funerary place. The tomb is in the southeast corner of the main part of the church, and is in a medieval style, exhibiting hunting scenes and an inscription declaring how the occupant, a servant of Mackay called Donald MacMurchow, was vassal to his friend, wary of his foe, and true to his master.[15] The design for a building at this time, when burials in churches were technically forbidden, took into account the potential funerary use of the church. The church needed to be big enough to house a tomb, or flexible enough to

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[13] The courtier had much more important loyalties than his parish of Gullane: David Stevenson, *Erskine, Thomas, First Earl of Kellie (1566–1639)* (Oxford University Press, 2006 [cited 23 November 2009]); available from http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8872. In fact, the parish changed hands not long later, in 1636, to James Maxwell of Innerwick: Crown charter in favour of James Maxwell of Innerwick of the patronage of the kirk of Gullane, now called Dirleton, thereby annexed to the lordship of Fenton, 25 July 1636. Papers of the Brooke Family of Biel. NAS GD6/1149.

[14] Gifford, *Highland and Islands*, p. 557.

[15] See *figures 5.3* and *5.4*.

allow for a tomb to stick out into the body of the church.[16] Donald Mackay was never one to follow established rules, having been put to the horn several times during the seventeenth century for defaulting on bonds and loans. The connections between these financial troubles and the new church are tenuous at best, and we can only speculate about how Mackay might have used the parish building project.

Kemback

Kemback is a good example of the land needs of a rural parish. A 1583 excambion document states that Patrick Scheves of Kemback wanted to build a kirk for the parish, especially since none was available for at least twenty years. The old parish kirk had fallen to ruin, 'awtherlie demonlischit baith in roofs and wallis nather hawand ane doore nor window'[17] so that no one could go there to hear God's word or to receive the administration of the Lord's Supper or baptism. There had been no communion for the first two decades after the Reformation Crisis.[18] Scheves 'upon his expense erectit and biggit dewlie ane sufficientlie in wall, ruiff, tymber, durois, windowes pulpit tabill for ministration of the ceremony and supper of the lord'.[19] He built the church and arranged for enough land to keep a manse and glebe. The specifics about furniture continue to include 'mony sufficient seats for eas of the people repairing thereto'. He agreed to the project 'upon promeis of the parochiners in contributing, repaying and satisfiing of the said Patricks chargis and expenss maid in the erecting and bigging thairof'.

The land exchange document is a fortunate remnant surviving not in ecclesiastical records, but in family papers.[20] It shows how one man, with the backing of his local parish, wanted a kirk erected. In this document, we have a description of Scheves's motivation: he was 'movit [by] that godlie zeall and for the inteir love he

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[16] It is also worth noting that this church did not become a full-blown burial enclosure once it became ruined, as did many other early seventeenth-century churches. This could perhaps indicate the strength of feeling for the tomb that had existed while the church was in use for worship, or for the restriction on burials in church among later elites in the parish.

[17] Instrument of excambion, 29 May 1583. Barclay of Collairnie Papers, Dunbog, Fife. St Andrews University Library. MS37490/33.

[18] McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish : The Reformation in Fife, 1560–1640*, p. 48.

[19] Instrument of excambion, MS37490/33. The church was built in a simple style, but with more adornment than the plainest of ordinary parish churches, with 'an asymmetrical T-plan with an off-centre N "aisle" (now demolished) which opened into the body of the church through a big segmental arch', transomed windows and crowstepped gables. See John Gifford, *Fife, The Buildings of Scotland* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988), p. 257.

[20] McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish : The Reformation in Fife, 1560–1640*, p. 48.

beiris to the promoting of gods glorie and furtherance of the religion of Jesus Chryst his realme'.[21] This a formulaic phrasing for documents like this one that refer to the practical arrangements for church building. Even though the phrasing is formulaic, it is instructive: even by 1583 the Reformation had reached the building culture in language. Scheves combined furthering the religion of Jesus Christ with the need for a building.

Kemback was a rural parish church whose congregation understood, early after the Reformation, what the main practical needs for a parish were. Their challenge was to construct, giving them a space, to occupy, giving them a place, and to worship, giving them a church. What Kemback can show is the first aspect of this process. Ownership and land were connected to church here. A layman offered his land for an existing parish. The church was, because of this gift, able again to administer the sacraments and preach the word. This time, however, it was not one more revolution in the cycle of growth and decay that churches inevitably went through in their lives. This new building became part of a new Reformed church. Patrick Scheves wanted to worship and hear in a Reformed manner; he no doubt would have kept these requirements in mind when initiating the building of the new church. There is little mention of the clerical ministry in the documents surrounding Kemback's building. This church building was devoted entirely to its parishioners, its laity.

Yet for this rural church, the building was not the sole focus. There is a persistent interest in agricultural utility and production of the land, establishing its fertility, size, and past crops, and comparing these attributes with other lands around the old demolished church. The practical nature of the early modern church was usually next on the priority list after the spiritual credentials were established. But at the same time, the actors setting up a new system for this parish were using this unique opportunity to adjust the system that perhaps was not working there before. Ministry at Kemback had been connected to the land since the fifteenth century. The old charter requiring the rector of Kemback to say mass for Robert de Ferney and his wife Marion Oliver, lady Kemback, and their descendants was superseded with this document. This was both a practical change, transferring the benefactorship to Patrick Scheves, and a more pointed change, clearing up legal vestiges of Roman Catholic practice. This procedure needed approval from Kemback's superiors, which were the principal and provost of St Leonard's College in St Andrews. This approval

[21] Instrument of excambion, MS37490/33.

linked the new land arrangement with the old one, by authority and by documentary evidence. The old charter was deleted from the college register to complete the change.[22]

This document shows that legal status of a parish was important. Further, the parishioners supported this project. They committed to repaying Patrick Scheves what it cost to build the kirk. They were inspired, emboldened, and edified by his claim that he was taking on this project because he was zealous for the Reformation. He wanted the true religion of Christ proclaimed throughout the realm. In Kemback kirk, the Reformation and popular religion were truly connected with broader shifts in spiritual, legal, and institutional life. Worship meant something for these people only if it was proper, had proper standing, and fulfilled part of the intention of providing the Reformation with a physical manifestation in Scotland, a less ruinous house.

Anstruther Easter

The story of Anstruther Easter's parish church is one of local powers negotiating with the higher institutions to provide townspeople with the ability to build a church to suit their needs. The first evidence of a new church in Anstruther Easter comes from a record of the Convention of Royal Burghs held in Perth on 11 July 1635. The burgh of Anstruther Easter had asked the convention at its last meeting for help to build a church in the town. The convention sent commissioners who advised that it should help because of 'the manyfold necessities that Town has been so long subject to for lack of ane church, and the diligence of the inhabitants for building of ane church and founding of ane minister within themselffis and that they ar so meane of themsleffis that thay have no powar to accomplishe so guid works without some guid and reasonable help'.[23] The convention gave the burgh 3,000 merks to build the church onto a piece of land Sir William Anstruther gave to the bailies and burgh of Anstruther Easter.

The documents reveals two reasons the town needed a new church. The parish church of Kilrenny, a mile away, was too far, especially in winter and other times of bad weather. Anstruther had the bigger population at the time, and the people in the parish, not counting those living in Anstruther Easter, could not fit into

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[22] Instrument of excambion, MS37490/33.

[23] General Convention of Burghs Grants Anstruther Easter 3,000 merks, 11 July 1635. Miscellaneous papers and charters. NAS RH1/2/576.

Kilrenny kirk. These practical concerns added to the more important spiritual concerns: 'We for our better ease and commoditie In frequenting and repairing to godis worship and for edificatioun of the people and administratioun of the sacramentis haif causit big ane kirk with ane kirkyaird (upon myne the said Sir Williams heretaige allottis be me for that use) within the said burgh of anstruther eister'.[24] Here is the trump card, as it were. They took matters into their own hands, because worship and the administration of sacraments were not functioning. They built a church and churchyard of their own. The support for the minister would come after Sir William and the bailies effected the separation of Anstruther Easter burgh and Anstruther barony from the parish of Kilrenny, thereby securing the income from the land for Anstruther Easter's kirk. It took two years to sort out. To keep a minister and church, the burgh and barony would have to be a separate parish from Kilrenny. Sir William and the bailies went on behalf of the burgh's inhabitants to the General Assembly on 21 August 1639, which passed the matter to parliament, which considered and passed the separation on 17 November 1641.[25]

The laird and burgh council led the way buying land, building a kirk, and establishing new parish boundaries separate from Kilrenny parish. The surviving evidence shows how the townsfolk were intimately interested in having room for themselves in church: Sir William and the bailies decided,

> eftire mature and dew deliberatioune, [they] had amonst thame anent of ane new kirk within their said brugh for preaching of the word of god and administratione of the holie sacraments quhill bot presentile frustrat therof be reasons they are ane with the parochine of Kilrynie, are yit undisunitit and in regaird of their popularitie and distance of place in winter day going to the said kirk of Kalrynie, numbers of persounes be reasons of their inhabilitie not able to go to the said kirk of kilrynie lose the benefit of the word of god.[26]

They needed room for the appropriate Reformed worship activities: hearing the Word preached, baptising, and receiving the Lord's Supper. The town council deliberations and the act of the August 1639 General Assembly show how the parishioners understood the need for Reformed worship. The burgh built the church so it was usable in 1634, and the parish became separate in 1641. There is no direct evidence about organisation of the church interior and how it might bear on the liturgical developments of the time, though it is clear there was a pulpit on the south

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[24] Copy of Act of General Assembly, 21 August 1639. NAS GD147/1/14.

[25] *RPS*, 1641/8/322.

[26] Anstruther Easter town council minute, 25 August 1639. NAS GD147/55/1/13.

wall with doors flanking it. One of the remaining seventeenth-century details in the interior of the church is the tomb to a mason who died during construction, indicating the significant respect held for those who worked on the building.

The Tron, Edinburgh

Edinburgh for much of the early modern period was a place rife with tensions between the Crown and church, people and power, and bread and buildings. Many of these tensions can be seen in microcosm within the new parish church of the Tron, or Christ's Kirk at the Tron, built between 1637 and 1647. The church's story starts as do many new parish church stories, with the old parish church. In this case, the old parish church was a very important one.

Edinburgh's main parish for much of its existence occupied the great kirk of St Giles in the High Street. The large burgh church became one of the loci of the Reformation in due course, attracting the fiery preaching of John Knox and his successors. The environment of a full city and a full church led, soon after the Reformation Crisis, to dividing the city and parish into four. Even by John Knox's time, the divisions had begun. By 1584 there were four ministers preaching to four de facto parishes. The parish for the southeast quarter of Edinburgh, which would eventually worship at the Tron, was officially formed in 1598.[27] By the late 1630s, Charles I was set on eliminating parochial worship at St Giles' completely. He created a cathedral out of the church, requiring the town council to build new churches for the dislocated parishioners. This proved extremely unpopular with Edinburgh's leaders and residents. They protested, but the Crown pushed back harder, threatening to impose severe fines on imported grain the council had arranged to mitigate a near famine. The town council succumbed to the pressure and started to build the Tron and Castlehill kirks in 1637. The tumultuous environment of Edinburgh in this period led to the project taking fully 10 years before the building was watertight.[28]

This is one of the first churches in Scotland where 'architectural unity' as a more modern notion can be applied. With a five-bayed façade with consistent round-headed windows and full pediments, a central pilastered tower planned from

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[27] Dugald Butler, *The Tron Kirk of Edinburgh or Christ's Kirk at the Tron. A History* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1906), p. 9.

[28] 'Finished' cannot be used until the 1660s, when the tower finally rose above the streets, to the council's revised plans. See *figure 5.5*.

the beginning, and a kind of unified ionic order, the church was one of the earliest uses of classical elements in an ecclesiastical building in Scotland. There is also obvious Dutch influence in the round-headed windows with their round tracery.[29] The Dutch influence would continue when the tower was heightened in the 1670s, sparking off a trend of Dutch towers in ecclesiastical and civic architecture throughout Edinburgh and Scotland.[30] Rarely for an early seventeenth-century church in Scotland, the project was headed by one man, mason to the king, John Mylne.

John Mylne came from a long line of royal masons, the first being James V's mason, Alexander Mylne, who was also abbot of Cambuskenneth and first president of the Court of Session.[31] John's father, also John, had trained John the younger and his brother Alexander in a series of important royal, civic, and ecclesiastical projects through the early decades of the seventeenth century. Since John the elder had been a burgess of Edinburgh since 1617, John the younger received the privilege by right of descent in 1633. By 1636, John the elder had given up the position of master mason to Charles I in favour of John the younger. One year later, the new master mason also sat on Edinburgh's town council representing the masons. This placed our John Mylne in the precise position necessary to influence the Tron's building. As it was a project driven by royal will but controlled by burgh finances, this man, connected as he was to the king and town, exercised much discretion over building this church. He and his brother, who was a sculptor rather than a mason, designed the church. It is Alexander's carving that remains distinct today: the town arms on the tympanum above the stone scroll which bears the statement of ownership and establishment, that this building, Christ's kirk, was dedicated by the citizens of Edinburgh in 1641.[32]

The foundation stone was laid on 4 March 1637. On that day, all the masons of the project received drink silver worth £5 8s to celebrate the beginning of the work. Yet the building proceeded slowly: by December 1642, John Mylne had a new contract to finish the building, granting him £400 sterling to complete the walls and steeple before Lammas and the aisle before Michaelmas.[33] (He was a very busy

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[29] John Gifford et al., *Edinburgh*, *The Buildings of Scotland* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), p. 175, Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, pp. 192–93.

[30] Butler, *Tron Kirk*, p. 130.

[31] Ibid.

[32] ÆDEM HANC CHRISTO ET ECCLESIÆ SACRARUNT CIVES EDINBURGENSI ANNO MDCXLI (This building the Citizens of Edinburgh have consecrated to Christ and his Church in the year 1641)

[33] William Findlay, *The Tron Kirk, Edinburgh: A Lecture* (Edinburgh: W. Gardiner, 1879), p. 31.

man, involved in many prestigious projects throughout Scotland such as Cowane's Hospital in Stirling, Edinburgh Castle fortifications, George Heriot's Hospital, Jedburgh Abbey, and the town college in Edinburgh.[34]) The council already needed to borrow the money to fund the new contract, which nevertheless would not prevent them ordering one year later a tower higher than the one originally planned. This combined with the Dutch plate copper the council imported indicates the level of quality the designers, financiers, and users intended for this building. The plans for such luxury would not immediately come to fruition: the tower did not reach its full height until 1671 and the copper never protected the Tron's roof, as 1663 saw the roof finally covered with the cheaper lead. The kirk's wooden roof structure also indicates the position this building occupied in the style spectrum of the 1630s. John Scott, the project's master wright, built it in the same hammerbeam style he had recently used in Edinburgh's Parliament Hall, finished in 1639. Though the material did not break the project's budget (100 oak trees cost £3 each[35]), using the same style shows how the town council considered their kirk to be on a par with the new Parliament Hall. It is not known whether the kirk's beams were of Danish oak as were Parliament Hall's,[36] but it is reasonable to assume the case, as supplies did not change drastically in the 1630s. This is a good example of the international reach of significant church project.

The records of the building accounts survive within Edinburgh's town council records. The Tron's incumbent minister in the early twentieth century, Dugald Butler, collected the relevant records and reveals in his work *The Tron Kirk of Edinburgh or Christ's Kirk at the Tron: A History* many snippets of the lives and activities of workers and the direction the money went during the project. The total cost of the building was about £75,000. This included the land, materials, labour, and food. On this seventeenth-century project, the workmen received a wage without food and the occasional refreshment when the work was particularly hard. (Often wages in the early modern period were paid including food for the worker.[37]) The 35 ordinary masons and wrights at the Tron received £3 12s each a week, while John Mylne's

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[34] Bertha Porter, "Mylne, John (1611–1667)," rev. Deborah Howard, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, eee ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, October 2006, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19698 (accessed March 23, 2012).

[35] Findlay, *The Tron Kirk, Edinburgh: A Lecture*, p. 31.

[36] Butler, *Tron Kirk*, p. 128, Gifford et al., *Edinburgh*, p. 121, p. 75.

[37] See Knoop and Jones, *The Mediaeval Mason: An Economic History of English Stone Building in the Later Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, pp. 205–15.

wage was £6 a week. As the project proceeded apace, certain important moments were marked, as the foundation laying had been, by paying out bonuses in drink silver: when the gate was put in and the arch above the gate secured, the accounts record £1 4s paid to the workers and 6s for the limemen. The records also show various suppliers: John Ronnald provided stone, Clement Jouris provided glass, James Rewle provided 12 measures (presumably technical instruments, as they cost £12), and Thomas Fleck brought the oak roof planks. The difference in economic conditions of workers and suppliers can be seen in the pay and bonuses they received, the jobs with which they were entrusted, and the materials they provided.

The slow pace of the project had much to do with changing ecclesiastical polity, materials, and burgh finances. The two churches necessitated by the king's move to elevate St Giles' to cathedral status were the Tron and the Castlehill kirks. The Tron, as we have seen, was a showcase for the town council's commitment to high-quality but not ostentatious building and style. Even by 1638, the council was committed to finishing the kirk, both financially, having spent £15,000 on the £14,000 it had collected, and through the fear of losing face.[38] The Castlehill kirk, however, though it got started, would never house the Northwest parish for whom it was intended. There were debates in the town council about the costs of the two churches. They eventually decided to pull down the Castlehill church to use its materials for the Tron.[39] The pressing need for the two churches in 1637 when St Giles' became a cathedral had evaporated by 1638 when the General Assembly in Glasgow abolished episcopacy. Even more, as the Crown's authority waned in Edinburgh, the threat over the grain imports used to instigate the building in the first place became much less immediate. So the Tron congregation could once again freely worship in part of St Giles', with little pressure to occupy their church until it was ready. (The multiple job sites Mylne and Scott were running mentioned above could very well have something to do with how long the kirk building took.) In 1643, when Mylne had finished the walls and the church was ready for its roof, the project's treasurer had no money, so the council had to borrow another 6,000 merks.[40]

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[38] See Butler, *Tron Kirk*, p. 132.

[39] Hugo Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh, from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time* (Edinburgh: Printed for William Creech, and sold by Messrs. Robinson & Co., 1788), p. 274.

[40] Marguerite Wood, ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1642 to 1655* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1938), p. 32.

The roof eventually became a headache for the council, lasting through the 1650s. They formed committees to send out merchants to Amsterdam and Hamburg to study roofing methods. After several years of incomplete work, though the copper was in hand at some point, the council formed another committee to investigate why the roof was not yet on the church.[41] Inside the church during the last two years of building, much activity and expense were focused on the furniture and fittings. John Scott, the wright, received £433 13s 4d for the pulpit, the reader's seat, the two great doors and the two smaller ones, and 17 cases for the windows. As for the windows themselves, they took up 2,272 feet of glass, costing £707 6s 8d. By 1647, according to Gordon's view of Edinburgh, the Tron had a temporary-looking wooden steeple, so even though the roof was yet to be leaded and the full tower was yet to be built, the building could be occupied. In fact, by 1648, the church was full of seats and the council had to forbid any more being built.[42]

This history of the Tron fits with previous work that has demonstrated cultural and international influences within Scottish buildings.[43] The design of the Tron Kirk reflected seventeenth-century Scottish debates about church culture and design.[44] The elite Town Council members, the King, the high-status skilled tradesmen, the ordinary masons and the simple suppliers contributed to the building process of the Tron. As an example of this historiographical distinction on paper, consider Deborah Howard's interpretation of the Dutch influence on the Tron.[45] She argues that John Mylne probably based his design on *Architectura Moderna*, the 1631 book of Hendrick de Keyser's patterns. The Dutch influence on the Tron would stay skin deep only if those discussing and observing the church did not understand that Amsterdam, where several other superficially similar churches stood, was a staunchly

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[41] Ibid., p. 59.

[42] Ibid., p. 142.

[43] Deborah Howard, 'Languages and Architecture in Scotland, 1500–1600', in *Architecture and Language : Constructing Identity in European Architecture, c. 1000–c. 1650*, ed. Georgia Clarke and Paul Crossley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 162–72. See also Graham T. Chernoff, 'A Building for Scottish Identity: The Tron Kirk, 1637–2011', in *The Shaping of Scottish Identities: Family, Nation, and the Worlds Beyond*, ed. Jodi A. Campbell, Elizabeth Ewan, and Heather Parker (Guelph: Centre for Scottish Studies, University of Guelph, 2011), pp. 129–40.

[44] The fine distinction between architecture and building must be kept in mind here. Analysing what a finished product tells us about culture and society is one remit of architectural history. This valid field of enquiry will often yield histories of the more refined order: histories of those who sought to use architecture as a powerful medium for art, identity, and other high cultural ideals. On the other hand, by analysing the building process, as we have seen with the Tron, we gain a rich understanding of a culture in a city interacting with itself. See Introduction, pp. 1–3.

[45] Howard, 'Languages and Architecture in Scotland, 1500–1600', p. 170.

Calvinist place. Culture and use were vital for influence. The form of the Tron, its T shape, marked the church as a homegrown place. This is what made the church Scottish with slight Dutch influences, rather than a straight import from the streets of Amsterdam. Further, the notion that the Dutch architectural tradition had a prior claim on the modified classicism used in the Tron is a contested one: though the Dutch may have propagated classicism throughout Northern Europe, it was fundamentally an international style, open to any country to modify it as it wished.[46]

These considerations of style and ecclesiology are important observations to make about the power of architecture. Within the building process, however, people's stories can become part of a cultural history. The tension between the need for cultural context and the influence buildings have on culture is highlighted in the Tron's building history. The historical environment of the Town Council in Edinburgh succumbing to royal will and the changes in church government styles in the 1630s show how the building was a necessary one for Edinburgh. The people who actually built the church worked as best they could using the finance and materials the council could manage. The building's production then created culture of its own. The building project became a fact of life for Edinburgh for over a decade: the council devoted many hours to the issue while the citizens waited patiently for their place in church. The architectural symbolism latent in the classicism and Dutch influences of the building, stability, prosperity, and progress, would have meant much to a tired and conflict-ridden citizenry in the 1640s and 1650s. The building process itself added much to the building.

Pitsligo

In Pitsligo, in the northeast of Scotland in the presbytery of Deer, Alexander Forbes, Lord Pitsligo, petitioned parliament to erect his new church into a separate parish, and was granted this by parliament on 28 June 1633. The official record reads that Aberdour parish, of which Lord Pitsligo was patron, was too large for all to gather at its church. Lord Pitsligo's right to remain patron of the new parish was emphasized strongly in the act, because he wanted to assert his authority after the quarrel with the minister at Aberdour which had been an underlying reason for the move.[47] He had started building the new kirk as early as 1630.[48] By 1633, he had

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[46] Konrad A. Ottenheym, 'Dutch Contributions to the Classicist Tradition in Northern Europe in the Seventeenth Century: Patrons, Architects and Books', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 28, no. 3 (2003): p. 242.

[47] James Taylor, 'Pitsligo Castle', *Transactions of the Buchan Field Club* 18, no. 4 (1987): p. 38.

finished it, having '…upon his awine propper chairges and expenses buildit and biggit up ane new kirk upon his lands and baronie of Pitsligo'.[49] Though the new minister at Pitsligo kirk, Andrew Cant, was a favourite tutor of the lord's family, the parishioners derided his contribution, remembering him as whining and drawling. Their lasting memorial to Cant was an engraving of his initials, but inverted to read C.A. Yet his preaching may not have been the only reason for his unpopularity: his negative attitudes towards bishops and his enthusiasm for the National Covenant would not have been well received in the conservative Northeast.[50]

There is much less evidence for the building process in Pitsligo than in other churches. Yet for the kirk's design, we can infer from its unified and relatively unchanged structure that Lord Pitsligo's master mason successfully designed the kirk to suit the parish's needs. The south aisle shows this strongly, making it easy to visualise how the laird's loft, which now stands within the nearby nineteenth-century Peathill kirk, would fit into the space.[51] This created a rectangular church for the parishioners, with a very private, raised space available only to the patron's family. The highly detailed and intricate carving is one of the major significant remnants of early seventeenth-century woodwork in Scotland.[52] It depicts so much noble symbolism that an observer would immediately understand just who intended to dominate this little parish kirk. For the loft would have made the laird's presence known even when he was not there: Alexander Forbes's design for this kirk was to reflect his wealth and power.[53]

The kirk's more public details also show a concern, even reaching internationally, for materials and handicraft. The belfry is intricately and finely executed of Dutch stone, and is not an afterthought, being dated 1635. It is even possible that it was made in Holland and imported as a finished piece.[54] Yet it also places Pitsligo squarely within an architectural trend among churches in the region in the early seventeenth century. Several other newly built churches have distinctive but

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[48] Hay, *The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches, 1560–1843*, p. 54, Taylor, 'Pitsligo Castle': p. 38.

[49] *RPS*, 1633/6/148.

[50] John B. Pratt, *Buchan* (Aberdeen: Lewis & James Smith, 1858), pp. 170, 394.

[51] See *figure 5.7*.

[52] Hay, *The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches, 1560–1843*, p. 191.

[53] See *figures 5.8* and *5.9*.

[54] Pratt, *Buchan*, p. 170.

similarly shaped belfries with carving design and masonry execution that equal seventeenth-century castle architecture (King Edward, Rayne (each earlier), Leslie, and Turriff (both later) are nearby examples). George Hay describes Pitsligo's as '…a rich hybrid of Gothic and classical styles not far removed from the manner of *François premier*'.[55] The other detail publicly visible is Alexander Forbes's monogram decoration which, just as much as his laird's loft claimed the inside space as his realm of influence, shows how he claimed ownership over the whole kirk right from its building. Lord Pitsligo used the date stamp for his own initials when at other buildings, the incumbent minister's initials would usually appear.[56]

Portpatrick

The parish church of Portpatrick in southwestern Scotland, on the west coast of the Mull of Galloway, was in a relatively new settlement that had been set up to take advantage of the favourable location for building a port. The purpose of this building was intimately linked with the fact it was in a port. Further, this was not solely a local project. Unlike many of the other churches considered in this chapter, the idea for building the church did not come from local interests and powers. There were indeed local interests that would be served by building this church, but on the whole this was an establishment that took account of the national context. This parish church had much to do with the long-term Reformation of the country and the church. Changes in geopolitics, provincial connections, and economic expansion were represented in the building project. The reach, establishment, and legitimacy of the ecclesiastical institution were also inextricably linked to these secular changes.

The regional-level organisation of the church in Scotland in the 1620s was the synod. The parish of Inch, within which the town of Portpatrick was found, came under the jurisdiction of the Synod of Galloway. In 1626 the synodal assembly, which consisted of Bishop Andrew Lamb and certain ministers, established the need for a new parish church at the port for various reasons. The practical, spiritual, and economic reasons they laid out in detail would provide a template for those dealing with the administrative and financial arrangements of this new parish church for the next thirteen years.

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[55] Hay, *The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches, 1560–1843*, p. 168. See *figure 5.10.*

[56] See *figure 5.11.*

First, they described the situation of the town. Two aspects of the burgh's practical situation made it a fine candidate for a new church.[57] The first revolved around its status as a port. Many people were arriving in Portpatrick planning to travel to Ireland and England:

> In respect of the great Confluence and resort of passingeris and travellers furth of all pairtis of the kingdome and kingdome of England and Ireland resort and repairand thereto, at all tymes for thair imbarking and transportatione by sea to the said England and Ireland, the said Port being most newest and comodious for that effect.[58]

Such consistent numbers of people setting sail from Portpatrick eventually resulted in a weekly mail service to Donaghadee in Ireland being established by 1662, increasing to twice weekly by 1677.[59] Though the port did not maintain its ascendancy on the west coast, in these early days of the 1620s, there was much expectation that this would become a significant place. The diversity of the crowds, with people arriving from all over Scotland and significant sections of northern England, would have created a very different environment from those experienced in many other small coastal burghs. The anonymity of being in a place temporarily perhaps caused people to forget the normal boundaries of behaviour. The specific problem for the church authorities was that the weather often prohibited the ships from setting sail, a situation which could easily happen on a Sunday, when people should have been in church hearing the preaching of the Word. When all the visitors swelled the regular population of the town a cooped up feeling could reign. Because Portpatrick did not have a church of its own, this would give way to all sorts of behaviours the ecclesiastical authorities were sure would lead both the visitors and the parishioners to rack and ruin. They would 'usualie remayne absent therefra [the church] and exerceis of the word of god upon the sabboth, being exerceised in drinking and other ungodlie and prophane workis wherethrow Atheisme Ignorance hoordomes and all manor of syne abounds in these pairtis'.[60] The stress of having unattended visitors, some even foreigners, and the distance to the parish church (remember the concerns

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[57] The town was erected as a burgh of barony for Montgomerie of Newton on 8 February 1620. G.S. Pryde, *The Burghs of Scotland: A Critical List* (Glasgow: Published for the University of Glasgow by the Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 67.

[58] Extract act of the synod of Galloway for rebuilding the decayed kirk at Portpatrick, with letter to Sir William Alexander, requesting the king to erect the lands near it into a parish (18 October 1626), Papers of Professor Robert K. Hannay, NAS GD214/502.

[59] John Gifford, *Dumfries and Galloway*, *The Buildings of Scotland* (London: Penguin in association with the Buildings of Scotland Trust, 1996), p. 491.

[60] Galloway Synod Act extract, NAS GD214/502.

were bad weather days) probably contributed to the deviant behaviour. The specific troubles of atheism, ignorance, and whoredom will be addressed below.

The church authorities were concerned mostly with the local people, who did already have a parish: its church, however, was in Inch, 'being distant sex myles of evill gait and way from' Portpatrick.[61] This was part of the second aspect of the town's situation. It was the centre of the population of the parish, even though it did not contain the parish church. The new port and potential for development probably helped the settlement grow, though it must not be assumed immediately that a parish's church was always where most of its people were. Indeed in many of the parishes so far discussed, redressing this problem was precisely the reason for building a church. In Portpatrick, though, the numbers may have swelled in response to the new opportunities in the settlement once it became a burgh. Yet it was not only the people immediately within the burgh that the church was concerned with: 'Lykas the most part of the people inhabitantis within the said parishonne of Inche most neirest to the said port, and speciallie when the Baronie of Portrie and Kinhill and the twentie merkland called Sorbies land'.[62] The barony and farmland around the town had a significant number of inhabitants as well, whose natural inclination was to Portpatrick rather than to Inch. These aspects of the practical reasons for choosing Portpatrick as a place to build a church, its status as a transit stop for many people, resulting in a certain amount of anonymity, and its demographic character within the parish, led to the place suffering spiritually in the eyes of the church authorities.

The lack of church provision was the first spiritual problem for the church. This situation was not very different from many parishes throughout the country which were too large and had ill-placed churches for their parishes' changing needs. The more particular problem for Portpatrick, however, related to its position as the place from which people travelled specifically to Ireland. The synod was concerned:

> as also Jesuites seminarie preistis Trafiquing Papists (as this present assemblie is informed) taking occassione to resort to the said port for there grettar advantage, And saiflie to Imbark themselves to the said Kindgome of Ireland, for perverting of his Majesties subjects in that kingdome with fals doctrine and stewing up his highnes subjects to Seditione and rebellion dyversse tymes without inquisitione distrublance or punishment of the said Jesuites and Seminarie preistis.[63]

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[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

The port was causing spiritual threat to the local people and to the kingdom. The national threat of sedition and rebellion went hand in hand with the personal spiritual threat of not having a parish church to attend and hear the Word of God. The synod saw an obvious solution to these problems, which the minister at Inch, John Watson, described in a letter to Sir William Alexander, secretary of state for Scotland at court: 'the onlie meane to represse these coruptions is the erectione of a kirk at the said port And settling ane faithfull Minister to condisend to the building of the said church.'[64] Their motivation was clear: they wanted to extend the preaching ministry to the edges of the kingdom.

This was not simply convenient timing that the synod had noticed the problems arising in Portpatrick. They knew that much was happening in the southwest of Scotland connected with the settlement and plantation of Ulster, which were cementing the trade routes between Scotland and Ireland and contributing to the pan-British project of establishing James VI and I's 'Great Britain'. They found their ally in the work of extending Reformed religion and loyalty to the nation:

> Therefoir the present assemblie most earnestlie intreatis the noble and potent lord Hugh lord Vicecount Montgomerie of Airds within wois bounds the said port lyis to prosecute the building of the fabrick of the said kirk begun by him at the said porte And to accomplishe the said work with all covenient diligence whereof his lordship hes some gude beginnings.[65]

The synod went on to insist those more populated areas near the burgh, Sorbiesland, and the barony of Portrie and Kinhilt, should be part of the new parish as well. These were Montgomery's lands, just as the burgh was erected as a burgh of barony in a charter to him in 1620. There are conflicting reasons that these lands needed to be part of the new parish. As the synod recorded, they were areas of greater population nearer to the new burgh than they were to the old parish church of Inch. It was a practical decision to attach the lands to the closer parish, one that would further the work of the institutional church in a more straightforward way. In this age of rationalising parishes and parish finances, this was probably the expected thing to do. Yet Montgomery was also a powerful man. His interests and influence in the region were reaching their zenith in the late 1620s.

Montgomery had started building the church by 1626, as the various synodal records attest when they asked him to be involved in the process of erecting the new

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[64] John Watson to Sir William Alexander, 20 October 1626, NAS GD214/502.

[65] Galloway Synod Act extract, NAS GD214/502.

parish. This was twenty years into his successful settlement project in Ulster. It is altogether possible that Montgomery was the one leading the charge in this project, rather than the church approaching him, as a first glance at the documentation might suggest. There is little doubt that he intended this town and church to be a significant connection between his native Scotland and his lands in Ireland. The church was one of six he built on his lands, establishing a pattern across the North Channel that would have been familiar to the travellers going back and forth. Significantly, the church at Donaghadee, where the ships leaving from Portpatrick harbour would land in Ulster, was of a similar shape to Portpatrick. An early eighteenth-century memoir, written by Montgomery's grandson William Montgomery from the family manuscripts, described the church building project:

> Then his Lordship built the great church and bell-tower in Donaghadee, near the mount and town, and Portpatrick church also; both of them large edifices, each having four gable ends (for the figures of them are crosses) raised on new grounds and slated, now in good repair, as the rest are, apparent to the view of all men.[66]

They were both cruciform, but not with the traditional demarcation between nave, transepts, and chancel, but more of Greek-style cross with aisles of equal length projecting from a centre. The church at Portpatrick was one of the earliest in Scotland with this configuration. There is unfortunately no evidence about how the church was laid out inside, or how it was used, aside from the fact that along with the five other churches he built in Ireland, Montgomery furnished them each with a copy of the 1603 Geneva bible, bound with the Book of Common Prayer.[67] A church with a similar shape is at Fenwick in Ayrshire, where the four-armed church was built later and reportedly under heavy influence by the Covenanters. Montgomery died before the Covenanting revolution, but it is relatively certain that he was loyal to the episcopal ideals of the church of his time. How genuinely he felt his episcopal loyalties is debatable: he was nothing if not a wise politician. It has even been suggested that Portpatrick represented a new episcopal form of church building, but there is little evidence beyond speculation and historical coincidence that this is the case.[68] What can be inferred, however, is that he intended to build the churches on his lands in similar styles. There were practical reasons for this, but the abstract symbolic connection he wanted is plain to see in the fact he built the churches and

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[66] William Montgomery, *The Montgomery Manuscripts (1603–1706) Compiled from Family Papers of William Montgomery, Esquire*, vol. 1 (Belfast: Archer and Sons, 1869), pp. 123–24.

[67] Ibid., p. 124.

[68] Hay, *The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches, 1560–1843*, p. 64.

harbours in each town at the same time. These would be visual bridges for the settlers leaving Scotland and wanting some of the familiar comforts of home in the new country.

Portpatrick and Donaghadee would have been the two churches where it was most important to build with similar styles. One of the other projects Montgomery undertook to connect the two towns was building the harbours. He built them at Donaghadee and Portpatrick, starting at least by 1626, as a letter of Charles I to Lord-deputy Falkland attests:

> And because the Viscount (Montgomery), having lands in our Kingdom of Scotland, may have occasion frequently to repair thither, and specially at this time being to build a church at Port Montgomery (Portpatrick), and to repair the Port, the doing whereof hath been often recommended to us by our British undertakers as a thing very necessary for our service, our further pleasure is, that you grant a licence to the viscount, to pass into Scotland, so often as his occasions shall require, and the licence to continue, till upon further considerations, we shall be pleased, or you from us, to discharge the same; and likewise, that the Viscount have liberty to transport all such materials, victuals, and other necessaries from his own bounds in Ireland as are required for his own use has advancing of the work intended at the port in Scotland, with as much liberty and immunity as can be granted, in regard of the barrenness of the place of the country where the port doth lie.[69]

Montgomery understood it was vital to ensure a physical and visual similarity between the two places, as they were the connecting points between his lands. The physical structures of the church buildings and the ports were the best places to do this: those in which Montgomery could take a personal interest, and those for which he already had a perfectly legal right to manage. By taking advantage of these rights, he left an indication that these were entirely intentional projects. Had he built only one church and one harbour, this could have been seen more simply as a local project. Yet the manner in which these projects were combined demonstrates that Montgomery knew he was participating in a new type of building in the early seventeenth century. Even at the governmental level, it was understood that Montgomery was contributing to the 'British' project with both his church and port at Portpatrick. While his unlimited passport indicated royal favour and allowed him to come and go as he pleased, his travel arrangements were more practical than anything else: the supply for all his building projects came mainly from his lands in Ireland. He was also connected with established and traditional supply routes into Scandinavia, and had experience of

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[69] Montgomery, *Montgomery Manuscripts*, pp. 125–26, n. 46.

them from other building projects. Montgomery knew the art of fine building, and the various building materials and sources required for it, having built his house in Ulster

> with coins and window frames, and chimney-pieces, and funnels of freestone, all covered: and the floors beamed with main oak timber, and clad with boards; the roof with oak planks from his Lordship's own woods, and slated with slates out of Scotland; and the floors laid with fir deals out of Norway, the windows were fitly glazed and the edifice thoroly furnished within.[70]

The woods mentioned were on his Irish estates. Though the work was overseen mainly by his wife, he had relatively close control over the project, at least consistent information about it throughout its progress. There is little reason to assume the case would be otherwise with his church building projects. Montgomery was interested in expanding his own empire, and knew that the Crown was similarly inclined in the early seventeenth century.[71] The physical legacy Montgomery left indicates a strong interest in establishing continuity between Ulster and southwestern Scotland, both for practical and rational reasons, but also for the comforting connections and abstract meanings that would benefit the ordinary people that made settlement projects function.

The Synod of Galloway probably knew of Montgomery's expansionist tendencies, and that he had already built several churches as part of establishing control over his new lands and settlements in Ireland. It is possible the church was blaming Montgomery for the problems caused by bringing so many travellers into Portpatrick. In the synod's view, the constant flow of people was the main cause of all sorts of 'Atheisme Ignorance hoordomes and all manor of syne' into the region. If this was the case, then it would make sense to ask him to build the church and to lead the way with this project, not only because of his experience, but also because they would have seen provision of a building as largely his responsibility. It is impossible to be certain who initiated the process, the church or Montgomery, but even with the language of the synodal act as insistent as it is, the other evidence around Montgomery's activities in the southwest suggest strongly that this parish church was part of his local contribution to a national scheme of supporting empire and church.

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[70] Ibid., p. 86.

[71] It is beyond the remit of this thesis to delve into matters of proto-colonialism. But potential questions for this evidence could include whether it was men like Montgomery who led the charge over the various seas, bringing their governments with them for expediency and protection's sake, or whether their intrepid natures were roused by calls and favours from their sovereign to expand the kingdom, both politically and spiritually.

The consistency of the language and reasons throughout the official documentation (the synodal act, the letters to Sir William Alexander, the later land exchange documents) indicate that there was a veneer of convenient reasons for building a church in the lax morals and growing population of the place. This is not to suggest that Montgomery was designing his town in a way that became conducive to such a situation. The most probable situation was that he had started building the church almost as soon as he received the grant for the burgh of barony, and this was the church and government catching up. Further, they needed the spiritual reasoning within their justification of the parish arrangements, for it could not be seen to be simply a financial trick to gain advantage over the other landowners in the region. There were significant interests at play here, and the church could not be seen, especially by the late 1620s, to be pandering to any of them specifically. The commissions and Revocation scheme Charles was implementing were not popular, of course, but there had to be some semblance of equality among supplicants to these programs.

The early modern mindset does not lend itself to such crass categorisations that allow the historian to decide definitively that an action was motivated purely by financial considerations. The evidence could go either way in a particular aspect of Portpatrick's arrangements once the church was built. Those extra lands outside the burgh which were added to the parish, the barony of Portrie and Kinhilt, and the ten merkland called Sorbiesland, were the subject of an exchange deal, starting in late 1635.[72] The lands were valued at 2,000 merks in stock and teinds, amounting to 400 merks worth of annual rent. These values and rents had been approved by the hearth commissioners of the Bishop of Galloway. Back in 1630 Charles I had mortified the lands of Soulseat Abbey to Montgomery in order to increase the income of Portpatrick parish.[73] So Montgomery held the burgh, the surrounding land worth 4,000 merks, and the former lands of the abbey. His parish was endowed sufficiently, but there was an administrative hitch. John Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, the heritor and

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[72] Minute of Contract of Excambion between John, Earl of Cassillis, and James Blair, minister at Port Montgomerie and commendator of Soulseat, John Montgomery of Cockilbe and Hew, Viscount Airds, re teinds, 3 December 1635. Papers of the Kennedy Family, Earls of Cassillis (Ailsa Muniments), Former Series 2, bundles 1-9, NAS GD25/8/289.

[73] Charter of Mortification by Charles I (following on letters patent of 10 May 1628 to Hugh, Viscount Mongomerie of Airds, for erection of town of Portpatrick, alias Portmongomrie, and lands of Portrie, Kinhilt and Sorbieslandis into parish of Portpatrick, and its church into a rectorage), dissolving Abbacy of Soulseat and appropriating spirituality and feu-duties of temporality thereof to the new church, saving to churches of Soulseat and Kirkmaiden their local stipends only, 25 October 1630. Papers of the Kennedy Family, Earls of Cassillis (Ailsa Muniments), Former Series 1, Bundle 15, NAS GD25/4/69D.

patron of the former parish church of Inch, owned the barony and mains of Soulseat, which were also worth 2,000 merks with 400 merks worth of annual rent. The teinds on those lands were part of the stipend of James Blair, who was the minister of the new parish of Portpatrick. He happened also to be the commendator of Soulseat because the abbey had been suppressed and its income turned over to the new parish church. Inch parish had lost a certain amount because of the arrangements, and the deal secured the income and rights for both the ministers at the two churches and the respective patrons, Hugh Montgomery and John Kennedy. Because the values of the lands were the same, it was simple for Blair to accept the teinds on Montgomery's lands (the barony of Portrie and Kinhilt, and Sorbiesland) and in exchange gave up the rights to the teinds on Cassilis's lands (the barony and mains of Soulseat). The document of excambion further detailed that if the ownership changed, the ministers at both churches would be provided for, though Cassilis would have the most beneficial arrangement if the relationship disintegrated. This deal demonstrated that noblemen like Montgomery and Cassilis were not maintaining their rights solely for spiritual reasons, but that serious financial responsibilities were involved. Yet at the same time, the unity of the parish was important as well: Sorbiesland and the barony of Portrie and Kinhilt were part of the new parish, and it was right that their teinds should go to pay for their own minister. Again, it is nearly impossible to determine exactly which consideration came first: that these lands would be the subject of a relatively simple rights exchange so should be part of the new parish, or that the new parish needed to comprise the lands because of their population so the particulars would be arranged as needed. The exchange demonstrates an intimate interest in the securing of the financing of the building and the ensuing parish work of the church.

Portpatrick's genesis as a burgh and church on the edge of the kingdom and connected with the project of expanding the economic, political, and spiritual extent of the Stuart realms makes the church building project worthy of much more attention than it has been previously given. The church building stood at a point in the early seventeenth-century society when people were not entirely certain where the country was going. Nobles such as Montgomery and Cassilis demonstrated loyalty and service throughout the 1620s and were rewarded with significant grants of land and other economic privileges, but they did not know they were serving a shaky regime that would not survive. Montgomery himself would die less than a month after the final document agreeing to the excambion deal, in April 1636. His project of connecting Ulster and Scotland via this newcomer burgh on the southwest coast survived the upheavals of the following decades, and it is entirely probable that the

church he built and secured played its significant role in making Portpatrick a genuine reflection of the religious world the Scots were attempting to create in their long Reformation. The contribution of this building, the people involved in its erection, and the people who would eventually sit in it and receive the benefits of the church made a mark on British culture in tangible and predictable ways that a visionary like Montgomery would most probably have understood. The tools within the expanding Scottish church allowed such a durable and fundamental connection between the ecclesiastical, cultural, economic and political worlds. The round tower and four-armed church in Portpatrick, as a building, was not an architectural gem representing international Reformed ideals like the Tron, but it was just as essential to the national project of building a Reformed church.

Conclusion

These early modern Scottish churches and their stories demonstrate the intricacy of the culture of building in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While the narrative of the building process is a relatively straightforward one, interpreting the cultural relevance of these activities for ordinary people is more complicated. As the institutional Kirk in Scotland grew into its Reformed shape in the late sixteenth century, the powerful financiers had to adapt the physical plant of the Kirk to ensure this part of building the house of God, in the metaphorical sense, kept progressing. Yet it was not only rich, powerful people who made buildings happen. The various reasons for erecting new parish buildings come to the fore in this narrative. In Kingsbarns, Anstruther Easter, the Tron, Pitsligo, and Portpatrick, new buildings housed new parishes. Physical space was often the official or superficial reasoning left in the evidence. Investigating the political tensions surrounding main players in these kirks, however, reveals powerful people pulling and pushing institutions for their own political gains, independence, or contribution to the project of empire. The ordinary parishioners' need for suitable Reformed worship was paramount, but often these parish boundary shifts were intensely beneficial to those who effected them. In Dirleton and other examples such as Burntisland, a new building housed a relocated parish, and these buildings were part of projects with more meaning than simply repairing a fallen-down kirk. Repairing an existing kirk could have been an option in these places, but a significant move was essential to establish new church identity. In Durness, Kemback, and Nigg, a new building signalled a renewal of fortunes for a parish: rebuilding was a common activity in Scotland. These kirks demonstrate that status quo in location was important, while opportunities to change how a church was

built, orientated, and used did not go unheeded. These churches show the General Assembly's concerns in 1567 about the state of the spiritual and physical health of the Church in Scotland had begun to be addressed: how everyday people, both humble and great, saw the value of staving off ruin and decay by giving their kirk a house.

Building chapter images

Figure 5.1, Nigg parish kirk, 2009.

Figure 5.2, Dirleton parish kirk, photograph SC791968, RCAHMS.

Figure 5.3, position of tomb in Durness parish kirk, 2009.

Figure 5.4, Durness tomb detail, 2009.

Figure 5.5, Tron parish kirk, 1753, much as it would have looked after 1671, image © Edinburgh City Libraries. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Figure 5.6, view of Edinburgh from the south, with Tron's temporary steeple visible in the middle, engraving entitled, "Urbis Edinae facies meridionalis, The Prospect of the South Syde of Edinburgh," by J Gordon, 1647, image ©Edinburgh City Libraries. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Figure 5.7, arch to s aisle of Pitsligo parish kirk, showing shape of laird's loft, 2009.

Figure 5.8, laird's loft in new Peathill kirk, 2009

Figure 5.9, left, detail of laird's loft showing Alexander Lord Pitsligo's monogram, 2009.

Figure 5.10, Pitsligo parish kirk Dutch belfry, 2009, compared with (clockwise from top left) Rayne (1619), King Edward (1619), Leslie (1635), and Turriff (1636).

Figure 5.11, 'Alexander Lord Pitsligo, 1634', 2009.

Occupying

The chapter about occupying will describe and analyse how the laity and clergy established themselves as a church once their building was complete (or near completion). This will show, in narratives about seating arrangements, decorating, and furniture building how intentional and symbolic churches were in the lives of seventeenth-century Scots. Their occupying established a culture in church. This is where the physical manifestation of church becomes its most interesting. By analysing different places throughout Scotland, patterns of intentional material culture can be seen. When churchgoers linked their spiritual and social identities, for example, they did so choosing to move the social into the spiritual. The evidence for this chapter will be material and documentary. The documents will help establish the state of the building at the time, since most churches have changed significantly since the period. In occupying the building, people in early modern Scotland expressed anticipation for good things to come. Church became permanent for them: they created ownership over their space, especially if they had been involved in the previous two parts of the process. In occupying a building, church truly became a place where culture could grow.

The occupying phase of a building project could take any length of time: it is a fuzzy concept that there might be a definitive difference between when a group started to occupy a building and when it stopped. The most sensible reference points would be those times after the preparing and building steps had happened. This is the first time the congregation as a whole might feature in a church building's life, the first time it could truly be said that the building was actually a church, a place for the body of Christ to gather, to worship, and to participate in his sacraments. Occupying is the beginning of life as a church in the building—worship, preaching, and sacraments, but also discipline, financial considerations, education, and arrangements for all these.

The churches addressed so far have fallen into several categories: some of the churches were completely new establishments, that is, new parishes, new congregations, new buildings. Some were relocated parishes, that is, new buildings welcoming congregations from different places that left their previous places completely. Some of the churches were occupying new buildings and accommodating parishes from replaced buildings. Cases in these different categories face occupying in slightly different ways. The evidence for this part of these churches' lives demonstrates, where available, that the early part of moving into a

building was an important time spiritually, financially, and socially. Kirk sessions, patrons, and clergy were setting up patterns in the churches that would allow these new or relocated communities time to adhere, time to coalesce into a fully functioning church within the community. While the established authority functioned to create patterns, the congregations of these churches eventually used those patterns to be that community. Not only passive members of the community, but active, creative, and contributing members, making their mark on the space that was in essence, culturally at least, theirs for the taking. This interface of authority and cultural production ensured that churches would always be political spaces. The close connection between politics and religion in the early modern European mindset ensured this was the case. The foundation of a church, once it had negotiated the occupying phase of its life, was its ability to gather people. This ecclesiastical gathering meant that even though the power to present ministers, control finances, mete out discipline, or even unite and separate parishes all lay within the hands of the few in society, the outworking of popular contributions was that this power imbalance mattered little in the everyday life, worship, and decoration of the church.

Parton

Several of the parish churches newly built around the time of Charles I's Revocation scheme provide examples of the priorities parishes and the authorities above them placed on the local institution of the church. At Parton, a church built in 1592 but not thoroughly sorted out financially until years later, the church patrons and clergy got into a major argument about the financing of the church and the responsibility for paying the minister's stipend and for the communion elements.[1] James Irving, minister in 1635 (and probably from 1620[2]), brought a case to the Commission of Surrenders and Teinds against the heritors of his parish at Parton.[3] He had brought his parish to the attention of the central body, hoping that his stipend could be augmented, and that there could be a suitable and regular provision of the

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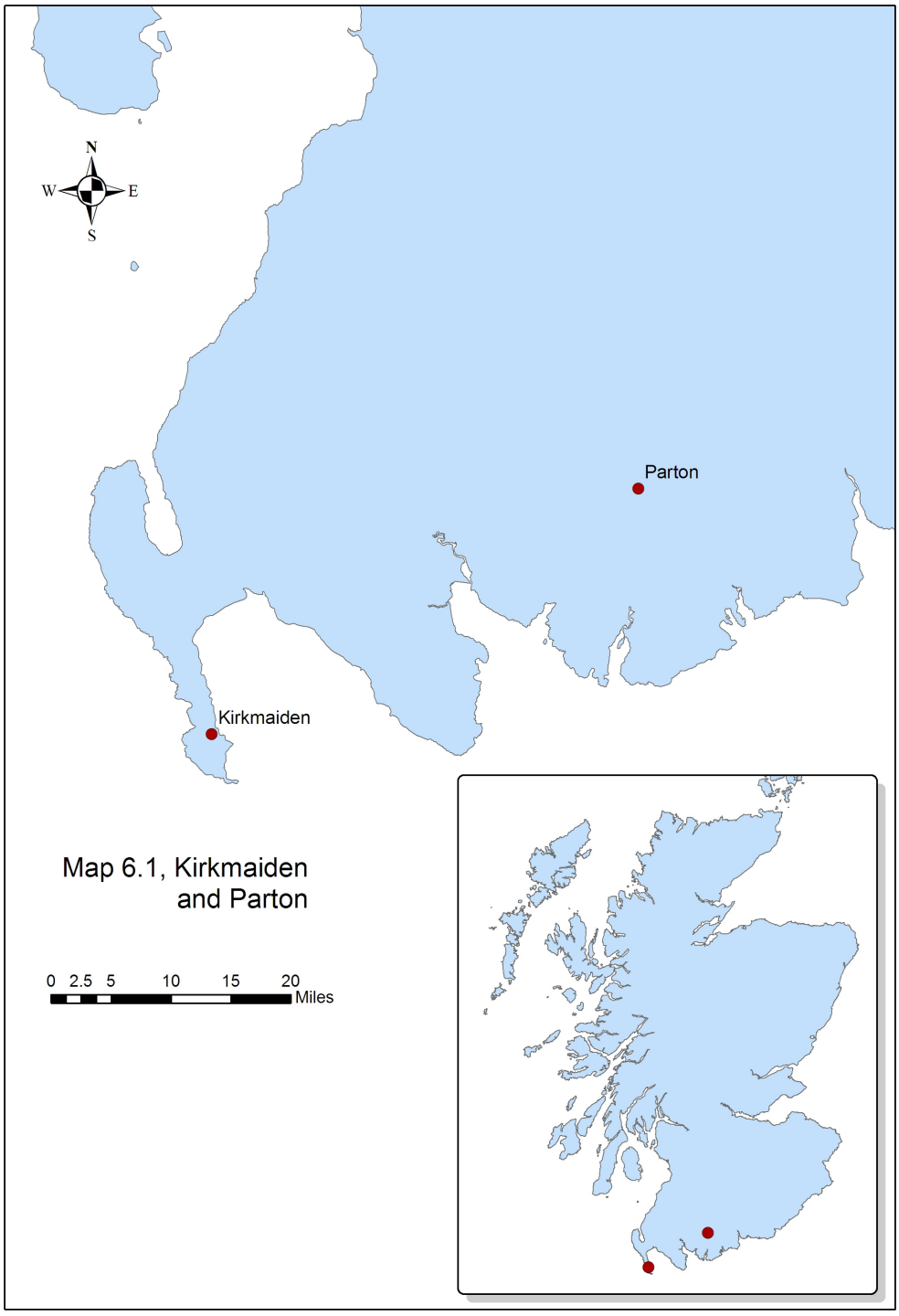
[1] See *figure 6.1.* The 1598 oak pulpit from Parton survives and is on display in the National Museum of Scoltand (NMS H.KL2). The sounding board and canopy above are inscribed 'Feir the Lord and honov/r his hovs', 'R G 1598' (for Robert Glendinning, the incumbent minister in 1598), and 'I 6' (for James VI). It is decorated in a conservative style with floral and plant motifs complemented by geometric celtic knots.

[2] Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, New ed., vol. 2, Synods of Merse and Teviotdale, Dumfries, and Galloway (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1917), p. 420.

[3] Kirkcudbrightshire: Parishes etc. of Parton (With rentals), 1635, 1643-1644. Papers Relating to Teinds and Teind Administration: National Archives of Scotland TE5/296.



Map 6.1, Kirkmaiden and Parton

elements for communion. The commissioners found that since Parton was a parish with lay patronage, not a church of erection out of abbatial or monastic lands, they could not meddle with the details. Eight years later, still nothing had been done, the commission was no longer, and the case came before the Commission for the

Valuation of Teinds and Plantation of Kirks. The 1635 case had provided one valuable decision for James Irving, that is that any augmentation if granted should be effective based on the crop and year 1634, rather than 1635, and that because of Irving's diligence. By 1643, the demand on the patrons had risen from not only an augmentation and steady communion funding, but also to maintenance for the addition of a reader. This decision having been made by royal authority, the heritors were charged to present any cases to the contrary to the commission. Two more documents related to the case survive: depositions from a messenger dated 7 and 8 August 1644 and 1650 stating he had served the notices on the heritors. The case was drawn out over 15 years. The teinds case demonstrates some important characteristics of the occupying phase of a church's life. Parton was a new building for an existing church, therefore these ownership issues will have gone back a long way, and must certainly have had much to do with family politics and neighbours' disputes as well. But as the chronology of the story makes clear, the minister fought a long time for the financial security of his ministry and the suitable provision of the communion elements. To include this episode of the parish's life in its occupying phase is to admit the fluidity of this category. The security of a minister's living was one of the important practical tasks with which the local institution of the church was charged.

Though this case happened long after the building had been put up, it is important to place this part of the parish's life within the context of what was going on nationally in the seventeenth century. The teinds had obviously not been thoroughly valued when the building went up in the 1590s. This is an instructive point, and by all accounts a common situation: for Charles's commission would otherwise not have needed to sort out the number of parishes it did.[4] The main contentious point in Parton's 1635 hearing was that the church was under lay patronage rather than an erected parish. The Revocation and the ensuing commissions were explicitly for ensuring that the income from the temporalities of abbatial and monastic lands could contribute to the support of the church. Parton had not come out of this system—that is, it must never have been under appropriation by a monastery or abbey.[5] So the delay in getting the teinds sorted out for this parish must have happened for other reasons. Ministry was evidently happening in this

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[4] Walter Roland Foster, *The Church before the Covenants : The Church of Scotland, 1596–1638* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1975).

[5] Scott, *FES Vol. 2*, p. 420. The rector in 1564, Charles Geddes, granted the church lands to John Glendinning, younger, of Drumryche.

church, but not to its full potential.[6] The absence of secure access to the elements of communion would have been a serious problem for any reformed congregation, let alone one in semi-rural Kirkcudbrightshire. This was also an issue of justice and property rights: long-term injustices were felt by the minister who was not getting paid what he deserved, while landholders from his perspective were keeping more than was their due. This is a microcosm of the history of the Scottish Reformed Kirk in its first century of existence. There is here a nexus between theology and practicality, spiritual exercises and political expediency. The denying or jeopardizing of suitable communion practice to a parish for over fifty years was in itself denying that the life of the church was important in the nation. Even for a church which must have had enthusiastic support at the beginning of its life there was a medium-term problem in fully engaging with the structures of running the place. In occupying the church, the controversial decision making affected the congregation. One preacher who was unsatisfied yet performing his job well[7] could not sustain the pure reformed ministry the ecclesiastical nation desired without support from the lay patrons of the parish.

Kirkmaiden

The case of Kirkmaiden illustrates how varied the situations of newly built churches were. This building was erected in 1638—an auspicious year for a staunchly Presbyterian place in the very southwest of the country (to this day it is still celebrated as the 'Kirk of the Covenant').[8] The financial arrangements for this parish could not have been much more different than those at Parton. Kirkmaiden had been under the patronage of the abbey of Soulseat at the Reformation (Earl of Cassilis), and continued to be so under the lay commendator John Johnstone. Here the tack of the teinds (the right to collect the teinds from the landowners then to pass them on to the owner of the teinds—in this case the commendator abbot) went through several sets of hands in the years before the construction of the building. Records survive from a dispute in 1594 whereby the tacksman at the time, Ninian Adair of Kinhilt, sought to reduce his commitment of paying the minister's stipend.[9] Adair had to pay John the

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[6] Fasti lists that the parish only had exhorters or readers from 1570 to 1585, then the parish shared ministers with other parishes until Irving's time.

[7] The commission reported he worked 'with diligence'.

[8] See *figure 6.2*.

[9] Wigtownshire: Parishes etc. of Kirkmaiden-in-Rhinns (With rental), [1566]–1630. Papers Relating to Teinds and Teind Administration: NAS TE5/459.

commendator of Soulseat 610 merks silver and 100 bolls of teind beer (of Wigtown measure) for the right to collect the teinds yearly. In turn, Adair owed John Moffat, as minister of Kirkmaiden, the whole vicarage of the parish, worth £20 (thirty merks). Further, another minister, James Davidson, at Glasserton and Wigtown, not far away, was due £21 and one chalder of beer out of the thirds of Soulseat, to be paid by the tacksman and parishioners of Kirkmaiden. Even more, the government official charged with collecting the thirds of the benefices was chasing Adair for the surplus from Soulseat. All of these creditors were pursuing their claims legitimately, having procured the necessary letters outlining their right to the money, but Adair was overwhelmed with the demand. His appeal was that the

> saidis haill pairties lettres and chairges aucht & sould be suspendit upone the said complenar, and thay dischairgeit of all molesting of trubilling of him as taksman above mentionat … quhill it be tryit be the saidis lords quhidder the said commendator his taksman & chalmerlanes or the saidis remanent pairties hes best richt to the said dewtie.[10]

The first call upon the land's revenues was at issue: in these words there was an assumption and recognition that any or all of the men pursuing the income may have had some rights over it, but there would inevitably be one whose right was indisputable or took precedence over any other. There was no indication whether the king would entertain anything but legal right: the fact that a Reformed minister was willing to serve the cure would probably not affect their decision. In these legal proceedings it is difficult to find anyone willing to entertain the notion that the minister's right to suitable support was more important than the land wealth that was at stake. The theological point that the ministry of God's word was all encompassing and therefore required support was lost in the legal tangle over this land. Yet the struggle the political world had with these secular rights over spiritual land is also evident in this case. This is also several years before James's initial erection of the temporalities of abbeys and old bishoprics into lordships, which happened in 1606, ensuring that parish churches under abbeys such as this one went with the titles of the abbatial lands. So in hindsight, even from only twelve years later, much of this discussion would have to be repeated by the various commissions through the first decades of the seventeenth century. Which happened, despite the fact the teinds were valued during the 1560s and 1590s as shown in these documents.

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[10] TE5/459.

This tack changed hands at least four more times in twenty years after the act of erection. In 1607, the minister at Kirkmaiden, John Callendar, set the tack to William McCullogh of Myrtoun. Callendar was minister at Kirkmaiden until 1639 when he died, and was son-in-law to Ninian Adair of Kinhilt, the former tacksman and father of William Adair of Kinhilt, the patron of the parish in 1607. The Adair family had evidently successfully negotiated the course from being tacksmen with far too many commitments to patron in the thirteen intervening years. In 1617, McCullogh set the tack to John Kennedy of Creichane, who only a few months later set it in turn to John Cathcart of Carleton. This must have been either a move to make a quick profit or an action which betrays that this was probably a troublesome set of rights to hold on to and be required to carry out. Cathcart assigned the tack to his son Hugh in 1625, claiming the full rights to the tack. By 1625, only thirteen years before the parish would undertake to start building its new church, the tack was settled at least enough for a father to want to invest his son's time and energy into it and use it to secure his son's future. The Adair family stayed closely involved as patrons of the kirk. On 24 July 1637 Robert Adair of Kinhilt presented John Callendar's successor, the next minister, after Callendar died. He was Alexander Turnbull, who remained until his death in 1658.[11] He had fewer of the concerns in settling the finances and support of his lay patron as the minister at Parton. Therefore it could be said that much of this parish's occupying stages had happened before the new church was built. This could have been a stroke of luck, as the building was not ready for several years.[12]

Though the documentary evidence of Kirkmaiden's initial occupying of the church is relatively scant, we can see from the financial wrangling over the previous half century that the parish is a fine example of achievements of the Reformed Scottish Church in its first century after the Reformation. Indeed, the outcome of the patronage arrangements and connections formed during them meant that Turnbull, the minister after 1637, had the chance to participate actively in the significant events of the midcentury: he was a member of the 1638 Assembly, and of the commissioners of the Assembly in 1646 and 1648, making his small mark on the national ecclesiastical stage, or at the very least indicating where his allegiances lay in the arguments of the 1630s and 1640s. Further, he was chaplain to the Earl of Cassillis's regiment, no doubt using his connections in the region to push for that role

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[11] Scott, *FES Vol. 2*, p. 340.

[12] Gifford, *Dumfries and Galloway*, p. 486.

in 1644. Unlike his near contemporary in Parton, he was able to work these various roles alongside his parish ministry most probably because these financial matters had been sorted before the building went up: so even events happening long before the actual activity greatly affected the life of the parish. A minister's involvement in extra-parochial affairs would have a deep effect on the attention he could give to his ministry, preaching, and discipline. Of course, the chronological accidents of old age and death played a significant role: for a fresh new minister would probably treat a new building in a different way from someone who had endured the old and likely crumbling building.

Elie

At Elie the evidence for occupying stages reveals a different sort of business from the previous two examples.[13] Here, in what was a new parish, the survival of early kirk session records provides a detailed view of how the parish-level administration, that is, the kirk session and minister, was leading the congregation in occupying their new building. The kirk session records show that the session in its earliest meetings after moving into the building—even before it was completely finished—was intimately interested in establishing the congregation's place in the building. Though many of the financial arrangements had happened in Elie as well, they more naturally formed part of the preparing and building stages of the process. This is because this was a new parish set up to accommodate a new building, unlike Parton and Kirkmaiden. Hurdles in institutional organisation had to be jumped to ensure that a new building would have sufficient support. The kirk session records show how the minister, elders, and congregation dealt with this new building and new life as a church together. In the early kirk session minutes we have a fine example of a parish getting used to its new surroundings.

Several instances over the first year or so of parish life in Elie in the way the elders managed the arrangement of the building demonstrate three different characteristics of the occupying phase. The kirk session showed that the church was interested in and believed it had a right and duty to intervention in many aspects of life. The practical aspect of finalising the building project consumed energy and time in the session and town. This was a very short-term activity for the session, and one which we can use to determine some of the economic or trade-based health of the community. The second, medium-term activity the session used to establish an

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[13] See *figure 6.3*.

occupied parish, and probably the most important as an immediate activity, was establishing the boundaries of the parish. The protective and active decrees the session issued to introduce the new parish church touched almost all aspects of life. The third, longer-term activity was a standard one for kirk sessions throughout the country: that of controlling behaviour. These examples of occupying activity belie the fact that the session probably did not have a concrete plan in place for how to establish authority over their new parish: their decrees often simply reacted to behaviour that did not suit the established norms of Scottish ecclesiastical and community-level life.

Interior organisation

One of the important initial activities the session undertook was to organise the seats owned by various members of the parish elite. The session first assigned a place within the new church for seats on 2 December 1639, when the elders decided that Alexander Small, a fellow elder, could build and put his seat in 'the north east part of the kirk at the nooke or cunye of the gavell thereof'.[14] It can be assumed this was not the first seat to be built because it was at least four months after the session records started and about nine months since the Laird of Ardross stated his intention to erect Elie kirk into its own parish.[15] The session probably dealt with every special case, given the number of times it came up in the first few months of the minutes. Taking into account all the assigned seats, there would not be any more room for people without a spot if there were other cases the minutes did not record.[16] This does not reveal precisely when the building was finished, but does indicate it was suitable for administrative and worship meetings. One of their responses was 'they appoint to meit at the kirk of Elie, upon tuesday nixt the nyntein of march instant [1639]'.[17] So the seats were not assigned until well after the kirk was usable: this does not mean it was empty before then. In fact, the parish was already having services of preaching, fasting, and discipline.

Fasting is the first corporate activity mentioned in the records on 4 August 1639, even before the listing of the elders' names. The new parish engaged in a

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[14] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/12.

[15] Ardross made his case at Kilconquhar session that he should not need to attend Sunday service there because of his plans for Elie: Kilconquhar kirk session records, NAS CH2/210/1/32.

[16] See *figure 6.4*.

[17] Ibid.

sabbath of public fasting for the success of the General Assembly at Edinburgh several days later. This was already planned as a fast that would last for several weeks: the minister suggested he should give a preparatory sermon on the next Saturday ahead of the second fast sabbath. In Elie's case, the occupying was well under way when they moved into the church. Robert Trail, the minister, was energetic from the start in engaging the congregation in what was, by the mid-seventeenth century, absolutely standard parish-level behaviour in Scotland. Fasting was one of the major ways the local kirk connected ordinary people with the national events in Scotland and beyond. That Trail was ready to engage the congregation in a preparatory Saturday sermon indicates the early cohesiveness of the parish. The elders declared the suggestion of a sermon 'verie meit, and therfor desired, upon moneday, the same to be publicklie intimated efter sermone and the kirk officer to advertise the rest of the parochin'.[18] Here in this brief minute Elie parish is shown to be well organised, institutionally efficient, and willing to establish the standard patterns of Reformed ecclesiastical life. All this in the very first recorded meeting of Elie kirk session. In the case of this parish, unlike the two previously discussed, the occupying stage of the church's life conforms to a neat pattern. This is undoubtedly aided by the fact the records survive so well from the beginning. It is for this reason the life of the first few years of Elie parish will feature heavily in this chapter.

The desire of the session to 'bed down' Reformed patterns is illustrated neatly in the first disciplinary case recorded in the session book. Conveniently for our purposes, the case also mentions the parish's relationship with its new building and its arrangement. Eupham Kynninmounth, in her second fault, admitted that she was pregnant with George Duddingstone's child. This is instructive in itself: the elders were carrying over faults from a previous parish. There was not a full sense of starting over completely with a new parish. This would not make sense in an ecclesiastical mindset, for the church was the church wherever it was, most purely when it was preaching the word, administering the sacraments, and exercising godly discipline. Just as the continuity of preaching and the sacraments would not be interrupted over time when transferred to a new parish, so discipline should not be interrupted. The second fault phenomenon remains a point of tension for the ultimate outcome of discipline: that the sinner should be received whole again into the grace of God and the congregation of the faithful. Since Duddingstone was away at sea, the session would have to accept her confession without further enquiry about whether he was

[18] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/2.

really the father.[19] That would need to wait until the fisherman returned. So the session decided Kynninmounth would sit two Sundays in the place of public repentance, according to good Reformed practice in Scotland. She would sit there two sabbaths because it was her second fault. The session, realizing now that they had assigned a penitent to be displayed in the face of the congregation, needed to decide where that place would be. It is recorded, 'This sabboth it is ordained that a publicke repentance be mad, and the place appointed for the same is the north close part of the kirk, quher the doore is mad for a steiple, quhilk for the present salbe a door to the said stoole.'[20] The place the elders decided was probably the most effective and visible spot in the church (aside from the pulpit). It was a symbolic gesture to place the stool near a door, but a door not intended for frequent use in coming in and out of the church. The door led to what would become the steeple, the part of the church building designed to be a beacon for travellers, and to house the bells which would call the parish to service, mark the hours of the day, and most specifically mark the sections of the preaching service.[21] This spatial relationship between the place of calling people to God continued with the placing of the stool of repentance there. This was not a place of banishment or shunning—this was a place for returning to God, returning to the congregation, and returning to oneself. Indeed Eupham Kynninmounth received that opportunity. After making her public repentance on the stool the second time, on 29 September 1639, she 'was received therfra according to the order of the kirk'.[22]

The final details for furnishing the church occupied the session's attentions for several months after the records start. Aside from the seating decisions mentioned above, and which continue at least until May 1640, other furnishing such as the communion table, the hourglass, the poor box, the jougs, the repentance stool, and the bell needed to be built or installed, and paid for. Details of prices and wages abound in the records, along with names of tradesmen the church employed to do the jobs. The kirk also paid for the tradesmen's refreshment while they were on the job.[23] Much of this was dealt with by 22 October 1639, around six months after the date

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[19] He eventually confessed in May 1640.

[20] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/4. See *figure 6.4*.

[21] Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*.

[22] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/5.

[23] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/8.

the church was usable, according to the protestation of the Laird of Ardross at Kilconquhar session. This means that many of these tradesmen had to be patient for their wages. Although some of the jobs may have been only finished quite late after the parish moved in, it is more likely they were kept waiting. The stool of repentance, for example, had already been used on a number of occasions before Alexander Weathell received payment for it. Yet the reason for this is quite clear: cash flow. Only when Eupham Kynninmounth's fine of 40s came in, already December at this point, did Weathell receive his 38s 6d for the material and 12s of silver for wages.[24] The practical link between receiving the fine and paying the invoice could be as simple as that; however, there may also have been a more symbolic link in the mind of the session. Connecting the stool's first public use and the payment for making it allowed the session to ensure their money was well spent. In another case, a link between use and payment is also evident. The communion table and benches were first considered in a seating decision on 15 March 1640, when Thomas Trimbell of Bogmillin was instructed to place his seat 'not goeing be east the second pillar of the loft, in respect of a place for a communione table to goe south & north quhen tyme requires'.[25] This was at a time in March 1640 when there was a flurry of seat building, both public and private, and when the repentance stool also needed repairing (perhaps out of so much use). So the session were aware of the furnishing needs of the congregation. They also were aware they had yet to celebrate communion in their new kirk. On 22 March they decided the following Sunday would be set aside for communion. The parish wrights, Alexander Weathell and Thomas Young, only received their £8 for building the benches and table after the 29 March communion. Perhaps the session wanted to make sure the furniture could stand up to the task. Further, they probably had to rely on the collection made during the communion services to pay the bill. These two specific examples demonstrate that the church furnishing processes in early modern Scotland were part of the regular humdrum of everyday life: late payments for old invoices were common in the period, and there should be no reason to assume the situation in the church would be any different.

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[24] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/14.

[25] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/22.

Delineating boundaries

The parish was new after having been detached from the old parish of Kilconquhar. The people living in the parts of the community now part of Elie parish, rural and urban residents, had to adjust not only their worship lives to the new parish, but also their commemorative and economic lives. These three aspects of delineating boundaries are also intimately linked to the Reformed approach to influencing behaviour. In promoting the new church building and new parish boundaries, the elders and ministers were again widening the remit of the ecclesiastical world to include everyday activities of memory and economic activity.

Worship at the right church

The elders and minister wanted to ensure the new parishioners would go to the right church. Regular attendance at the right church was vitally important for the cohesion of the new parish. This is evident even before Elie became its own parish, when the Laird of Ardross was censured by the Kilconquhar session for not attending church there. His retort was that Elie would soon be its own parish. Therefore he should resort to the kirk there. He was, in a way, leading by example: he wanted the new building he had invested in to be useful and used. There was also a notion that the parish church was the only place a parishioner could really be in the ecclesial community. This could be because the minister might be wary that if someone went to a church where he was not known, his laxity in behaviour, knowledge, or godliness may not be noticed, or because it could facilitate the mixing of church and work life. Much of the contravention was the result of the fact the sabbath was violated.[26] The first mention of trouble (from the perspective of the session) is on 29 September 1639, not long after the parishioners had experienced their first worship in the church. The session was concerned,

> hearing that many within this parochin, either goes to no kirk at all upon the sabboth day, or else goes to other kirks and that not so much for to serve and worship god, as for to expede & doe some worldlie business and affaris with some of other parochines quherunto they resort for that effect,

and saw three outcomes: profanation of the sabbath, collection for the poor being compromised, and the example spreading to others.[27] The economic argument, if it was mooted as a reason for going away to another parish, was firmly rejected.

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[26] See the section about Sabbath breaking starting on p. 150.

[27] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/6.

Worldly business in other parishes, including as we shall see in the former parish centred at Kilconquhar, was not an excuse for missing church. The session declared,

> that nane within this parochin in tyme comeing upon the sabboth day frequent or goe to other paroch kirks, but that thereupon they frequent and keip duelie the kirk of this parochin, except that they hawe a lawfull & reasonable cause for their goeing to other paroch kirks, as to the baptisme of children, celebratione of the lords supper, contracts, mariages, burieles and such lyke lawfull and reasonable causes of their goeing.[28]

Worshipping in another church was permissible, but even that must be only exceptional circumstances of visits or family affairs. The burials the session intended to allow parishioners free access to would not be burials of people from within the parish, for they had already declared,

> that nane (without libertie asked & granted) burie heirefter any of thair dead in any other buriall paces, but that all within this parochin bring thair dead to the commone buriall place appointed for that parochin, quhilk is the kirkyard of the same, and if any doe in the contrair heirof (without libertie asked and granted) they salbe thairfor censured, as the minister & elders sall think most expedient.[29]

This directive helped establish the pattern of a new parish life. The session communicated it early, in its meeting on 25 August 1639, as one of the first directions for how the new building and site would be used. This was probably, just like the repentance stool decision, communicated out of need: people would die regularly and the community needed to know, and be instructed, where they should bury their dead. This was a directive of instruction but also of permission: the kirkyard was ready, and the organisation of the kirk was ready, to receive burials. The new church was staking its ground as the focus of the community.

Commemorative boundaries

The pattern evidently needed pressing, as was demonstrated the following year in April, when David Boweman from Morcambes (within Elie parish) was warned for burying his father in Kilconquhar kirkyard. His punishment was not to disinter his father, but to pay Robert Carse, Elie's kirk officer, 12s to make up what Carse would have received to prepare the grave in Elie kirkyard. The case demonstrates several aspects of the occupying phase. Boweman's reasons for burying his father in Kilconquhar were not specified: one can assume he did not know about the rules, did

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[28] Ibid.

[29] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/4.

not know about the new kirkyard at Elie, or more wilfully disobeyed for some other reason. In any of these scenarios, it is not difficult to imagine that Boweman's family would have long been buried at Kilconquhar, and he was merely following tradition. Unfortunately, the evidence does not reveal which of the three types of contravention this particular breach was. It seems probable, though, that had Boweman gone out of his way willingly to disobey the session, and had they known about such disobedience, the censure and punishment would have carried a bit more weight. This session was not afraid of exerting its authority when it was that very authority that was questioned. Since the punishment was a practical one—reimbursement for the lost grave labour—that Bowemean's transgression was the first chance the session had to demonstrate that the decree about burials remaining within the parish was serious. For he did not need to sit on the stool of repentance: it was not viewed as a sin. If the session were to assert that burying the dead was in any way a moral or spiritual decision, they could be in the sticky situation of condoning the commemoration of death. That would be against the norms of the Reformed Church in Scotland. So this action of the session had to remain practical: it had to concern either the physical boundaries of the parish for convenience's sake or the authority of the session, also related to the boundaries of the parish.

Daily life and boundaries

As for boundary violations and more regular occurrences, the session seems to have been quite lenient in the first year or so of worship in the church. There are at least four cases of the session being aware that men had been not at Elie kirk for Sunday worship, but elsewhere. Andro Young, Alexander Duncan, Andro Bennett, and Arthur Johnstone were recorded in February 1640 as not keeping the kirk at Elie but going to other parish kirks. Young and Duncan eventually promised to follow the direction of the session and attend church at Elie. They therefore did not receive any punishment. Bennett did not appear before the session, even though he was called at least three times. Johnstone took several weeks to show up to a session meeting, but when he did, said that he had been at Kilconquhar kirk, and promised from then on to attend at Elie. The session therefore let him off without any censure. The other two had merely admitted to being at other parish churches: perhaps they were simply using another church as an excuse for non-attendance. This would be a stretch, as there are other cases where people made different excuses for missing church. The session treated Young, Duncan, and Johnstone nearly the same as Boweman, aside from the practical fine. These contraventions of the session's

authority, if they were committed out of ignorance, were not grounds for ecclesiastical discipline. The session was not going to punish these men for going to church, especially given the trouble the congregation was having on the whole with sabbath-breaking. This aspect of occupying was a more gentle reminder that the new parish church was their new ecclesiastical home.

The absence of any punishment for these instances of going elsewhere to church seems to suggest that the elders were not concerned with the integrity of their congregation. Yet the session were serious about having as many people in their own church as possible, at least according to one of the justifications for the initial injunction against sabbath breach, which was to prevent prejudice against the parish's poor because of lost collection money. If every penny counted, as could be inferred from this justification, then the mild treatment on the three men who went to another church is confusing. The most immediate answer is not as simple as the explanation above, but must be a combination of the desire to see parishioners in any church and a sophisticated understanding of the increasing seriousness of subsequent sins after a first fault. If a parishioner was willing to promise not to repeat the contravention, the session had no choice but to encourage him to prove his good faith. The time for contrition and repentance would come if that parishioner repeated the contravention. The session was acting as if every parishioner deserved its effort for bringing the community into the new parish church and organisation.

The elders were also concerned with those not part of the parish. They were interested in preventing outsiders with no obvious means of support from staying in the parish very long. It happened early in the records, indicating it was a problem which had happened before the new parish organisation was set up. The first mention in the record, on 29 September 1639, reads: 'Agnes Adamsone spous to Alexander Adamsone in Elie compeired befor the sessione, they both being warned to compeir this sabboth, for lodging and resetting in thair house idle vagabonds and wandering beggers & for selling of eall [*ale*] to them'.[30] By emphasising the visitors were idle and wandering, the session was shutting down any possibility these people might be economic migrants come to look for work. There is no guarantee this was not the case, as no direct testimonials from the Adamsones survive about why they took in the strangers. It is almost as if it were a matter of the case being closed before even beginning. The attitude that permitted this possibility was one of justified xenophobia, where a community and its boundaries were seen to be so closely

[30] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/6.

intertwined and fragile that strangers could not be allowed to intrude upon them and disrupt them. The potential harm lay in the fact the strangers might eventually seek poor relief through the parish, even though they were not born there. The sin of exposing the community to outsiders was compounded by profiting from it with an unlicensed alehouse. In their line of work, the Adamsones certainly would have benefited by welcoming strangers into the town. Once the session dealt with the Adamsones, they in fact issued a decree that what the couple had done was wrong and was under the remit of ecclesiastical discipline. They included only the briefest explanation, that idle vagabonds and wandering beggars 'lives both contrair to the lawes of god & lawes of the kirk & kingdome'.[31] The boundaries of the new parish reached not only to a physical extent, such as the land and town, and a behavioural extent, such as burial and worship, but also to the very business of personal sin. There were conditions placed upon worshipping, and therefore living, within a parish. The session, because they were mastering a new parish, had to make these conditions clear to the parishioners. Even though this was a relatively serious sin, the Adamsones were dealt with lightly, just like the trio who trotted off to other churches, only needing to promise not to repeat the offence.

The last remaining example from Elie kirk session records relating to preserving and delineating the new parish boundaries was when the kirk session and minister required a testimonial for any incomers into the parish. This was standard practice in Scotland, and helped to ensure cohesion within the community and to preserve the standards of moral behaviour expected by the Reformed Kirk. A very common occurrence of this principle at work was when new servants arrived in households. The masters would be responsible for ensuring the servant had a proper testimonial or testificat from his or her previous parish. On 8 December 1637, the session required

> that the elders get the names of all tennents servants & others come from other parochines to dwell within this parochin at mertimes last and therefter to desire you to bring testimonialls of thair lives & conversationes from the sessiones of the parochines from quhilk they come at the said terme or otherwayes they will not be suffered to remane within this parochin.[32]

The session were interested in their lives and conversations, and would not permit the tenants and servants who had arrived since Martinmas to stay if they did not produce

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[31] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/7.

[32] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/12.

evidence of their good standing in their previous places. One of these testimonials shows up not long after the session decreed they were necessary:

> David Pearsone this sabboth produced ane testimoniall for his servant woman Agnes Browne subscribit be the minister of Abercrombie (29 Dec 1639[*in margin*]) bearing that the said agnes was borned of honest parents & brot up in thair parochin of abercrombie & that shee had caried herself honestlie christianlie & dewtifallie in all respects as becometh ane good christian without all knowne blame.[33]

The testimonial described her parentage, her upbringing, her origin, and her current demeanour. This was a way for the session to plan accordingly. The assurances were necessary, as a disciplinary case only a few weeks later would demonstrate: Agnes Cook suffered some harsh words by Margaret Dinne, a servant of the Laird of Kincraig, in Kilconquhar. Dinne had pushed Cook too far it seems, in speaking 'slanderous words & speaches' against her mother and dead father. Cook responded by openly berating Dinne that she had gone to Ireland to bear the child of some other woman's husband. This was a mobile population, and one where behaviour had consequences across parish boundaries, even across the sea. The Elie session decided to wait until they heard what was happening in Kilconquhar session before continuing with the investigation into Agnes Cook's behaviour.[34] Being aware of past sinful behaviour in previous parishes would certainly help the session in dealing with cases such as Cook's and Dinne's. Further, the fact masters were liable for producing these testimonials was linked to the fact they often stood surety for the fines their servants ran up—at least eventually or possibly: Robert Small, an elder, was made to be cautioner for David Mooder, who had committed the sin of fornication.[35]

Discipline

The system of discipline was intertwined with the social hierarchy in early modern Scotland. It was one of the ways the church, both clerical and lay, could police on what was happening in the streets. In Elie's case, since it is possible to follow the teething stages of the new parish, the effort expended by those in social power to ensure that the system worked is made plain. The new parish building needed its boundaries to be clear, not only for ceremonial uses such as burials and baptisms, but also for regular worship and behaviour. The boundaries of the new

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[33] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/15.

[34] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/16.

[35] Ibid.

Reformed kirk almost had to be relaid yet again—some within the community would need to be reminded just what level of godliness their parish minister, elders, and neighbours expected of them. It was this process that ensured a parish would cohere and embrace its new building. The establishment of correct behaviour was an important aspect of the occupying phase—not only behaviour that outlined just how far the authority of the session could go in a new place, but that more typical form of behavioural control found in early modern Scottish parishes.

The Reformed Kirk's role controlling behaviour and moulding people into right-thinking godly believers has been much explored in recent years. Scholars have outlined and analysed the relationship between the kirk's discipline and early modern Scottish culture,[36] the fast-moving events of the Reformation crisis,[37] and the bedding down of an institutional structure.[38] The behaviour of the people was a growth industry for kirk authorities: the supply of ungodly behaviour was perpetually renewed. The product of this economy was a disciplined godly community, submitting willingly to the authority of the kirk in order that the true body of Christ might be represented on earth. So to arrive at this product, the system of discipline had to be initiated.

In the occupying phase of the church's life, discipline was established with a mixture of active decrees, where the session devised a rule before being faced with the situation, and reactive decrees, where the session responded to a misdeed. There was also a difference between individual sins and decisions about corporate life. Though these are all related and have to do with the connection between the individual believer and the church as a corporate entity, there are important distinctions to keep in mind. Elie's session faced three types of disciplinary issues in its first year of operation: sabbath breaking, heavy drinking, and the celebration of Christmas. They demonstrate parts of each of these categories.

Sabbath breaking

The fastidious adherence to the sabbath was a new hallmark of the Reformed Kirk. The behavioural patterns sessions throughout Scotland tried to establish were of regular attendance and submissive attention, especially to the preaching of the Word, which came in the form of sermons much longer than previous generations had

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[36] Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*.

[37] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed, 1488–1587*.

[38] McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish : The Reformation in Fife, 1560–1640*.

known. The sabbath also extended beyond the church service to the rest of the day, when believers would and should only engage in activities dedicated to increasing or improving their godliness. The problem in Elie was evident to the session and minister within a few months after they started meeting. The problem of going to other kirks or parishes for worldly business has been discussed above, along with the perceived ramifications of the behaviour of spreading the example and prejudicing the poor by denying the collection box sufficient and regular contributions. But the Reformed Church took the hardest line on profanation of the sabbath. There were metaphysical consequences of a physical absence from church. These consequences were far too costly for the session to permit their continuing. Their solution was to decree a long list of forbidden activities: labour which profanes the sabbath, any kind of pastime or recreation, staying away from the church, drinking or being in a pub or other tavern, and going to other churches. The session authorized its members to keep close track of the parishioners to ensure that no parishioner in any quarter of the parish could plead ignorance. The act is in general terms quite vague, not specifying precisely what the limits were of labour that profaned the sabbath; there was presumably a distinction, for why else would they specify 'any maner work or labour quherby the sabboth day may be profaned'? If it were actually any labour, the need to specify would evaporate. The limits existed elsewhere, for example where economy relied on the weather such as in fishing places: fishermen away for the sabbath may not in every instance be punished. In the case of the recreations, on the other hand, the session made a blanket statement forbidding any pastime or recreation.[39]

One of the first examples of profane labour conducted on the sabbath was that of Arthur Johnstone, who appeared before the session on 24 November 1639 'for drinking and for buying and selling of horse this day eight dayes and that in tyme of sermon it being a sabboth of fasting and humiliatione'.[40] He admitted that on 9 November he was in St Monans 'in tyme of divine exercise, and that he drank thair and was making some block and bargen with thos with whom he was'.[41] The session required he sit on the repentance stool two Sundays and pay 20s as a fine because the sabbath in question was a day of fasting and because he had attended to his business interests during the time of sermon. The session did not make it completely clear

[39] Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, ch. 4.

[40] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/9.

[41] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/10.

whether it was the business of the horses or the drinking that was the more offensive to the sanctity of the sabbath. One clue is that they decided in the same meeting they found out about Johnstone's transgressions that the drinking culture in Elie needed reining in. The excuse of the trade arrangements in this case did not work. Though Johnstone did not try to belabour his excuses, he made it clear that to him it was a necessary activity. Yet the session did not expressly specify that this business profaned the sabbath. They simply implied it by describing the action and the time: the level of detail in the acts telling people not to breach the sabbath was not maintained in the corrective measure applied later. The session did not take this as a learning opportunity, or even as a chance to set an example. They had an opportunity here to distinguish between sabbath-profaning and necessary work. Perhaps that is what was left unrecorded and what would have been entirely evident to Johnstone himself and to all the parishioners when he was sitting on the stool. The message would resound: This was the type of business activity we meant when we said labour that profanes the sabbath. Activity that drew people away from the kirk even on such an important day as a Sunday of fasting and humiliation was rather obviously profaning. For it was not just the drinking, or even the business: Agnes Broune came close to suffering the public censure of the kirk for travelling on the sabbath. The destination and length of the journey were not specified, but still she had to appear before the session. She confessed it and promised never to do the same again, so only received a rebuke from the minister there within the meeting. When compared with Johnstone's case, Broune's shows that not all sabbaths and sabbath breaking activities were created equal.

By the new year, however, the session had come to the conclusion that such irregular punishments could not continue. They decided on 19 January 1640 that they would follow the practice throughout Scotland of having a system of increasing fines for repeat offences, in cases where parishioners missed church on a sabbath without a suitable excuse: 'It is acted and ordained that those quho keipes not the kirk haveing no lawfull excuse for thair absence and not coming to it everie sabboth sall pay of penaltie for the first time —— 40 ds [*one-quarter of a merk*] for the second 6 ss 8 ds [*one-half of a merk*] and so furth thairefter totes quotes they salle found guiltie'.[42] By implementing a staged fine that doubled, the session were sending a message about just how they wanted their parishioners to behave. First the control the session exerted over the lives of ordinary people had a practical and financial effect: 40 pence

[42] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/15.

was a substantial sum for most ordinary people in Scottish small towns. The fact the session wanted to instill into the parishioners fear of a fine doubling for a second fault is a reflection not only that repeating the offence made things worse, but also that people who did not get the message about their behaviour and the authority of the session simply deserved to suffer. Further the session could rely on this income to inflate the funds the church had at its disposal, as seen above in the case where the communion benches were only paid for once the fines came in. Doubling the fine sent the message that their authority was not meant to be ignored.

The use of fines to impose discipline in Scotland has been examined thoroughly in recent scholarship. Michael Graham especially has highlighted the connection between the practical utility of financial penalty and the theological necessity of effective tools for reforming behaviour.[43] The kirk's leadership, wherever it was, had a responsibility for ensuring that behaviour within its community conformed to the godliness needed for the national kirk to continue being the true kirk of Christ on Earth. This started at the parish level; and as we have seen with Elie parish, it started from the first months a new congregation occupied a new building. Herein lies the difference between a parish going about its regular business and a new parish. For much of the evidence historians have used to understand the Reformation in Scotland has come from the last few decades of the sixteenth century. Certainly many scholars have extended analyses later into the seventeenth century, and embraced the historiographical turn of considering the 'long Reformation', yet often those analyses are about understanding the events of the seventeenth century in terms of Reformation: the threatening Anglicisation of the kirk of the 1610s and 1620s, and the National Covenant of the late 1630s have been seen as part and parcel of a continuation of reform in Scotland. As Elie demonstrates, however, parish-level behaviour needed to be kick-started into godliness as if the ministers and elders had to begin again with a new Reformation. The Reformation had not yet reached the place. This interpretation could be valid if Reformation was solely based on the behaviour of parishes and the exercise of discipline. Yet to argue that 1639 was the beginning of the Reformation in Elie would be to ignore the burgh's proximity to the centres of Reformation events in Scotland. It would also require basing a verdict of 'Reformed' on the behaviour of ordinary people, and thereby avoid the pressing theological question of just when an entire country became Reformed. There would

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[43] Michael F. Graham, *The Uses of Reform : "Godly Discipline" and Popular Behavior in Scotland and Beyond, 1560–1610*, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, V.58,* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

therefore be a major dissonance between the reality on the ground and the politico-religious reality of the realm itself. The notion then that the behaviour of people in a place sealed its Reformed status must be challenged: in every place the kirk went its leadership would face this struggle of adjusting the behaviour of the people there to its own norms. The spiritual discipline of preventing the profanation of the sabbath was for the kirk sessions of Scotland a major priority. Yet linked to this issue, rather explicitly in Elie, were certain forms of behaviour that particularly deviated from the accepted norms of sabbath peace.

Heavy drinking

Drinking in Elie had got out of control, if one takes at face value the records of the kirk session soon after the congregation started worshipping at the new kirk. The problem had cropped up before the session had a chance to state the obvious, that the sabbath especially was not a day for drink: Alexander and Agnes Adamsone had made the session aware they should be concerned by selling ale to vagabonds who were lodging in their house. Though the selling of ale was probably not the more important problem over above the lodging of unproductive visitors (see above), it did alert the session to one of the ills which needed attention. Yet the ale selling in the home was an essential part of their transgression, as it was recorded both times the case made it into the minutes (i.e. the summons and the appearance, 29 September 1639 and 6 October 1639).[44] The case straddled the same meeting when the session outlined the activities which profaned the sabbath. The session decreed

> Fourthlie that nane within this parochin upon the sabboth day in tyme of divine service, be found in tavernes, brouster houses or tapsters [*a brewer or seller of ale*], or yet in any other houses drinking or playing thairin from the kirk, and lykwise that no tavernor brouster tapster nor seller of any sort of drink, sell any wine, eall beir or any uther kynd of drink the tyme forsaid, nor keip any at home in thair houses for that effect.[45]

This decree was wide ranging: the time of divine service must be kept from profanation throughout the town, which reached into people's homes. The people who sold any alcoholic drink were forbidden from keeping any drink they planned to sell in their homes. The simple reason for this is that their customers, finding the tavern shut, would certainly come knocking hoping for refreshment on a less formal basis. This possibility might discourage people from coming into the new kirk on a

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[44] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/6, 7.

[45] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/6.

Sunday. This decree, though, in its intent, was purely about the sabbath and the methods the session had at their disposal for enforcing sabbath adherence, or at least minimising opportunities for distractions from church. It reveals more about the culture of drinking though: the malleability and creativity of the purveyors of drink and their customers were not excessive, but were sufficient to gain attention from the session. This must mean that the culture of 'drinking or playing' was robust in Elie.

There is a gap so far in this issue, which is the moral question about drinking: was there any notion that the carousing and jollity brought about by the presence of alcohol were sinful, or was the absence from church the sin that trumped any interior sinfulness? Perhaps each was a reflection of the other? Five men brought before the session thought they had a handle on just what the session were legislating about regarding drink:

> This sabboth John Lowrie, John Rea, John Traist, David Balfour and Alexander Crage compeired befor the sessione (being warned thairunto, for drinking this day fiftein dayes in Abstone woods efter sermone,) and confessed that they war in Abstone woods efter sermone but they said that they drank only thrie pynts of aill amonst thaim all; and promised in tyme comeing not to doe the lyke, quherupon the minister with the advise of the elders, admonished thaim to abstein from drinking or frequenting of brouster houses heirefter, othewayes they sould be severlie censured as profaners of the sabboth day.[46]

They admitted to drinking after the service, but were happy to rely on the excuse that they had only drunk three pints between the five of them. The session still saw this as a transgression: certainly not one for which they received punishment, but a sharp rebuke. The fact they probably were not drunk may have helped them, but the main problem was that the drinking had caused them to profane the sabbath. Yet the warning about drinking was still present. They should abstain in the future: it would be the easiest way to avoid the temptation of going straight from church to the woods. The fact they were in the woods probably did not help the session take kindly to them either—the clandestine nature of their meeting surely would have aroused the session's ire.

Now the session were aware of the intricacies of the drinking culture and the necessity of refreshment. In the same meeting they dealt with the five men who shared the three pints, they conceded a point about the utility of these taverns in their town. They repeated their previous decree about drinking on the sabbath, but added a caveat:

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[46] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/9.

> It is acted and ordained that tavernors brousters and tapsters abstein from selling of wyne aill or beir to any comeing to thair houses for drinking thairin (except to strangers and to those quho lodges in ther houses, and to those only for thair refreshment and at thair mealles but not as they use to doe upon other dayes) and also that they refuse to sell drink to companies conveined for drinking in other housses if they hawe any notice thairofe, and yet this present act, is not to hinder the selling of meat and drink for refreshment to those quho being far from thair owne dwelling housses, stayes betwixt the sermones in the townes but heirunto grants libertie, alwayes care being had that no more drink be sold betwixt sermones to those, then serves for thair refreshment, utherwayes it salbe holde a transgressione of this act…[47]

Strangers lodging in houses (it can be assumed that they meant legitimate visitors—see the case above regarding the Adamsones) certainly had a right to refreshment on the sabbath, especially at meal times. Yet they needed to be aware that the sabbath had some dignity above other days of the week. The far more interesting concession the session made is to permit drinking to those parishioners who had travelled into the town and needed to stay between both sermons. Because of the long break between the services, people would need refreshment. Yet the session was aware that there had to be a limit: the sellers would need to serve only enough for refreshment. This catch-all term is a positive command: rather than forbidding drunkenness, which would likely have resulted in much more drunkenness, the session decided to enable refreshment. People would have known what the limits were, given ale was a normal part of an ordinary diet. The session nevertheless made it clear that anyone going beyond this, including the consumer and the seller, would be transgressing this act and therefore profaning the sabbath.

Christmas

The last example of the kirk session actively controlling behaviour in Elie once the new kirk building was up and running was its prohibition of Christmas. This act made Elie consistent with other godly places in Scotland, and the banning of Christmas was a trend which would spread into the rest of the British Isles with the coming tumult of the 1640s. The decision succinctly demonstrates Elie's position within the spectrum of the Reformed church: this kirk would be one as pure as could be, one carrying on the work of the anti-Roman Catholic Reformation that certain sections of the Scottish kirk had been pursuing from the early years of the 1560s. On 15 December 1639 the session made the following pronouncement:

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[47] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/10.

> Item this sabboth it is statute acted and ordained according to the ordinance given by the presbyterie, that nane within this parochin keip zule day holy, nor accompt mor of it then of ane other day, and that all masters have a care that their servants be put to thair ordinarie works, and not suffered to goe drink and play thairupon, and that the elders within thair severall quarthers and bounds tak notte of all such, as sall keip the said day as ane holy day, and delate thaim, that therfor they may be censured, and for keiping of order in the towne of Elie William Dougall & Stephan Quhippo are ordained to tak notice of all such as sall come to the kirks the said day, quho uses not ordinarlie to come, and to delate thaim to be censured thairfor.[48]

The Presbytery had given the order that Christmas should not be celebrated as a special day. This thinking had been around since early after the Reformation, and was a distinctive part of Scotland's Reformed church. The Scottish Reformers noticed explicitly how this attitude of doing away with all the feast days of the Roman Catholic calendar, even these ones such as Christmas and Easter that other Protestant and Reformed churches in Europe were keeping, set them apart from the other churches. Of Christmas, Epiphany, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Pentecost, the leading Scottish academics and ministers in 1566 said, 'these festivals at the present time obtain no place among us; for we dare not religiously celebrate any other feast-day than what the divine oracles have prescribed.'[49] The Reformers' proscription of celebrating is directly related to the fact that marking the events in the Christ's and his disciples' lives and ministry with feasting was not commanded by Christ in the Scriptures in the same way he commanded his followers to celebrate the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist. Further, the kirk of the late 1630s would have seen itself as throwing off the Anglicisation of the kirk from the 1610s to the mid-1630s, and the reintroduction of the feasts and special communions, many of which had been gradually taken on implicitly, such as the Easter communion of 1617.

The order came from the presbytery, but the kirk session at Elie was robust in its implementation. Parishioners were not to keep the day holy (and they had recently been receiving lessons on just what it meant to keep a day holy, so they certainly would have known just how *not* to keep one holy!) and even more simply, not to pay it any special attention. So this was a prohibition in a spiritual sense and in a practical sense: here there is a slight chink in the armour of the robust connection

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[48] Elie kirk session records, NAS CH2/1581/1/13.

[49] Letter from Scottish Reformers to Theodore Beza, 4 September 1566, in Hastings Robinson, ed., *The Zurich Letters, (Second Series) Comprising the Correspondence of Several English Bishops and Others with Some of the Helvetian Reformers, During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Cambridge: Parker Society and Cambridge University Press, 1845), p. 364.

between the spiritual and secular worlds of early modern Scotland. The session understood that people in the past had habits of celebrating through the church and through their regular lives. One of the most obvious ways of marking the occasion as set apart from other days would be to relieve servants of their duties and permit them to go drinking and playing. What a paradox the elders got themselves into here, for if they really had wanted the ordinary parishioners not to treat the day as an extra sabbath, perhaps allowing drinking may have helped. The fact is the elders were to some extent grasping at straws with their prohibition: the ordinance almost reads in a helpless way, that the elders knew they would probably not succeed with this command. They certainly saw it as an uphill slog, if anything. Their preparation and willingness to ensure Christmas was not celebrated are shown in the instructions each of the session members get: they were to undertake a thorough round of their individual quarters of the parish to check on the parishioners to make sure they were not celebrating.

The last most paradoxical instruction in this prohibition enables two of the kirk session members to watch the kirk for anyone who tried to go there on the actual day of Christmas. Being a Wednesday, it is probable there would have been one of the daily services at the kirk. Yet there definitely would not be any special mention of Christmas. It is not clear whether 'quho uses not ordinarlie to come' means people aside from those who would normally come to one of the midweek services on top of a Sunday, or whether it means they were expecting people to come to the kirk for a Christmas celebration who normally would never come regularly, even on a Sunday. In either case, this reveals some useful insights into the operation of the kirk only a few months after it opened its doors. The session knew its regulars so thoroughly that it would be able to ascertain new people almost immediately. This is not entirely surprising, for Elie was a small place with an active session. On the other hand, if the second meaning is taken literally, the session were concerned that there were parishioners it had not yet reached—people on farms quite far out of town, perhaps. These were the types it would try to accommodate a few months down the road with its decision about refreshment drinking between services. Lastly, the new kirk was, in the mind of the session, already the place where people would automatically go to celebrate in a traditional way. Though this could be seen as hubris, considering the evidence that no one appeared before the session after Christmas for violating the act, it demonstrates at least that the town's new kirk had established itself in the minds of its leaders. Perhaps the session's warnings about

celebrating Christmas were strong enough, or perhaps they were futile: people may well have got the message over the eighty years since the initial Reformation. One assumes that the elders did a thorough job, given the enthusiasm shown in the act, but it is always possible that their visits throughout their quarters were perfunctory instead of penetrating. Elie's parishioners could well have worked Christmas day and retreated into their homes to celebrate: the public nature of their feast was gone, but it is always possible that privacy could take on a new meaning, aided by the fact their kirk was a new building and not connected with the celebrations of Christmas in the past, either the distant past of their grandparents or the recent past of the reintroduced traditions.

Conclusion

The occupying phase of any parish building's project could encompass years of history, and swathes of activity. The financial considerations of parish support, as has been shown in the case of Parton and Kirkmaiden, could be constantly troubling over long periods of time. These negotiations, which in an ideal world would have happened long before the congregation set foot into the building, could colour the occupying phase simply because they took so long. In the case of these two southwestern parishes, several other influences were at play: their geography of being so far from the centre of political power and being caught in legal limbo because of Charles I's attempts in the 1620s to sort out the finances of the church. The political context of these churches starting out certainly affected their beginnings, especially when combined with the personal details of the ministry. At Parton especially, the minister served for a long time, requiring much diligence to provide what ministry he could to his parishioners given the level of support he had. At Kirkmaiden, the back and forth of patronage of the kirk showed a level of support that ultimately provided the minister with the confidence to participate in national-level ecclesiastical affairs. The occupying phase of the kirk at Elie was the ideal case where the kirk session enthusiastically embraced the new building and set itself up from the beginning with a mission to fill the church by quickly dealing with the remaining unfinished tasks from the project, delineating the boundaries of the new parish, and establishing its authority in pursuing discipline in the everyday life of its parishioners. The session by no means had it all sorted out: the elders often reacted to behaviour with an act forbidding the behaviour they were faced with. Though this sort of legislating would often have happened in many parishes throughout their lives, the kirk session at Elie was different because it was dealing with a new building and new parish. They were using their

powers as the parish-level authority to occupy their building, to establish a Reformed church with the cultural tools necessary to propagate it over generations in that new building.

Occupying chapter images

Figure 6.1, Parton church from E, 2011.

Figure 6.2, Kirkmaiden church from S, 2011, showing position above the sea. The village of Kirkmaiden is down the hill, nearer the shore.

Figure 6.3, Elie church from S, 2009, showing original doors (between the windows), through which parishioners would have entered the church.

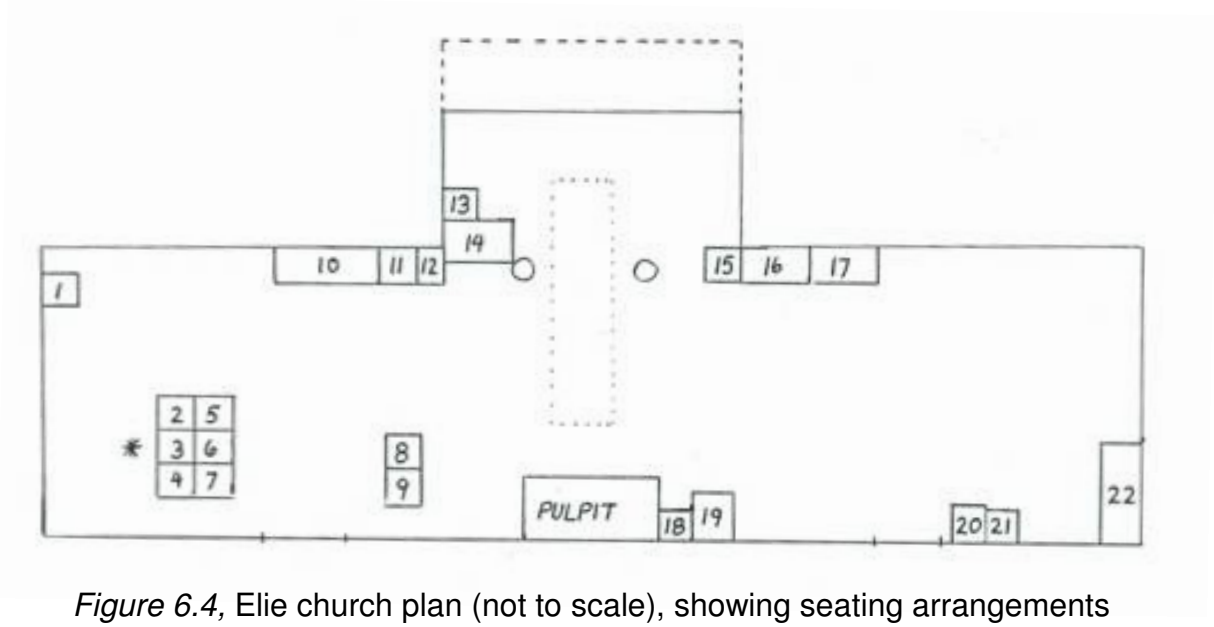

Figure 6.4, Elie church plan (not to scale), showing seating arrangements from kirk session records:

1. Repentance stool
2. Thomas Young, and three others
3. The alewives
4. Duncan Balfour
5. David Beatton
6. Alexander Small younger
7. John Patrick
8. Stephen Duddingston, Laird of Sandfurd
9. Morcambes husbandmen
10. John Duddingston, and two others
11. William Nairne
12. John Duddingston elder
13. Alexander Adamson
14. Thomas Trimble of Bogmillin
15. Alexander Small elder
16. Duncan and Andrew Thomson
17. Alexander Gillespie
18. William Dougall
19. Robert Small
20. Robert Douglas
21. Robert Trail (the minister) and his wife
22. David Byres, and three others

* where Adamson's seat should be

Relating – church buildings and their surroundings

Early modern church buildings and their surroundings were important for all those who planned for them, built them, used them, and ministered in them. The process that led to a church building being erected in a particular place culminated in the relationship between that building and its location, both the landscape and the built environment. These concepts of landscape and built environment mattered to church buildings and the process used to erect them in early modern Scotland. The process was only complete when a relationship was established: the connection could be either positive or negative, but it had to be there. A building never stood alone without reference to its surroundings, for if that were so, then the potential for physical or symbolic position would cease.

Landscape and built environment have been defined, analysed, and used in recent years as possible categories for understanding more about the lives of early modern people. The definitions provided have been sound and workable, and fluid enough to allow evidence to speak to either one of these categories, or both. For this analysis, which is rooted in buildings, the definitions of landscape and built environment need to be brought even closer together. Buildings are always artificial devices: yet they were still natural enough in the early modern period to have been almost without exception pulled from the ground through their use of natural and local resources. Bringing the categories of landscape and building together, therefore, will help enter into the mindset of early modern people. The land surrounding any urban area was deeply connected to the experience of even the most urbane Edinburgh resident in the late sixteenth century, whereas in parts of Europe, the Netherlands especially (economically and culturally close to Scotland incidentally), urbanisation was proceeding apace. Built environment comes out of the landscape in a way that is equally natural and equally artificial. The paradox of the relationship between buildings and the land, especially in the early modern period, is that buildings necessarily were at the same time permanent and at once fleeting.

Landscape and building were intertwined in a natural and artificial process of extraction, erection, and occupation. What is missing so far in the discussion, however, is the role of humans in driving these processes. It is obvious to assert that without people the built environment would not exist. Yet the landscape too has never been devoid of human agency. Environmental historians have gone further and argued that the landscape or wilderness is contingent on human use, observance, or

ignorance.[1] The landscape needs humans and by extension, the buildings they produce, to gain its essence: an entity to which humans and their products can relate. Many landscapes were also products of human toil. The agricultural development of Scotland in the sixteenth century was still thoroughly feudal and was a fundamental part of the social structure of the realm. Production and use of the land were the hallmarks by which people organised themselves.[2] Yet at the same time the mountainous regions of the Borders and Highlands regions were a completely different landscape, and probably escaped the contingency of human imagination until the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Understanding the original seventeenth-century use of the term landscape helps to place that contingency in context. Current interpretations, along with the interpretations underpinning the twentieth-century arguments about the wilderness, are anachronistic when considering the landscape from the perspective of the sixteenth century.[3] The concept turned up in the mid-seventeenth century, meaning a vignette of a place, demonstrating the way people in early modern Europe considered what surrounded them. In art, using the way land looked from a far-away perspective as a compositional technique was new. It was not only the artistic view that mattered. Early modern people in a Reformed country such as Scotland understood their surroundings in different ways, such as their being a place filled with divine love, a place redolent with soul-destroying human error, a source of temptation and back-sliding towards a Roman Catholic past, or even a reminder of a heathen past.[4] The different notions about the landscape made it ripe for representing and demonstrating the momentous changes in attitude that made up the Reformation in Europe. The theories about the Reformation being primarily concerned with desacralising everything from trees to cathedrals have been largely challenged, leaving the landscape as a potential source for complicating the history of the Reformation. If the landscape could be seen as a repository for the collective memory of a locality, as a recipient of the economic, political, religious, and cultural activities that gave a people a sense of its history, then placing something new into that environment may have been seen as an act of continuity rather than interruption

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[1] William Cronon, *Changes in the Land : Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*, 1st ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, Rev. ed. (New Haven,: Yale University Press, 1973). Ian D. Whyte, *Landscape and History since 1500* (Guildford and King's Lynn: Reakton Books, 2002).

[2] Whyte, *Landscape and History since 1500*, pp. 27–32, Whyte and Whyte, *The Changing Scottish Landscape, 1500–1800*, pp. 52–75.

[3] Walsham, *Reformation of the Landscape*, pp. 1–2, Whyte, *Landscape and History since 1500*, pp. 23–24.

[4] Walsham, *Reformation of the Landscape*, pp. 10–17.

or novelty. The understanding of the past for early modern people relied heavily on what they could see around them.[5] To enter into that understanding, the historian must come to terms with the fluidity of the boundaries between the natural and the artificial, the surrounding and the surrounded, the landscape and the building. Without such a syncretic view, the precision of how the landscape evoked history for early modern people may be lost. There was no distant beauty of inert and unchangeable mountains or vistas: there were demonstrative representations of the relationship between heaven and earth in the hills, streams, and trees that created the dwellings, places, and symbols of power necessary for human society. In other words, the landscape could produce history.

Even more, it has been argued that early modern people saw themselves as participants in a world where cities themselves could be understood in a similar way. Cities could be entities where daily life and what could represent daily life (maps, laws, plans) could meet and feed off one another, 'as an organic mediation between heaven and earth'.[6] The daily life of cities rubbed up against what people understood their own daily life to be: in other words, reality and perception were contributing equally to the fundamental function of the city and landscape. Life and the representation of life could contribute to history once more people became aware of their commercial abilities within urban diversity. A spatial understanding of history provides room for the tumult of the sixteenth century to be seen as allowing the civic sphere more ability to develop. In the early modern period, ecclesiastical urban space gained a new legitimate competitor, as civic institutions started to jostle for territory in the public space of the city. This institutional civic movement allowed civic and ecclesiastical space and symbols to merge at first. So for example in English cathedral cities, 'The use of contested space dramatically exposed the unsettled boundary between the sacred and the secular in the struggle between local autonomy and central authority.'[7] The eventual triumph of the civic over the sacred resulted in civic power appropriating not only the space formerly presided over by the cathedral, but

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[5] Spicer, ''God Hath Put Such Secretes in Nature': The Reformed Kirk, Church-Building and the Religious Landscape in Early Modern Scotland', Alexandra Walsham, 'Footprints and Faith: Religion and the Landscape in Early Modern Britain and Ireland', in *God's Bounty? The Churches and the Natural World*, ed. Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon, *Studies in Church History* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, & Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press, 2010), Walsham, *Reformation of the Landscape*, pp. 233–394.

[6] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), p. 271. Quoted in Peter Arnade, Martha C. Howell, and Walter Simons, 'Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Spaces in Northern Europe', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, no. 4 (2002): p. 519.

[7] Carl B. Estabrook, 'Ritual, Space, and Authority in Seventeenth-Century English Cathedral Cities', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, no. 4 (2002): p. 619.

also the symbolic value of such space as well.[8] The significance of any given space 'emerged through encounters between the specific material and historical character of the place that grounded the space and the political capacities of those who vied for control over its various dimensions, be they material or discursive'.[9] The growing differentiation between these two approaches to using the built environment helped to engender the differentiation between the civic and religious life of the city. Changes in the urban environment, therefore, could be a source of history rather than simply the product of historical forces. The early modern city itself was capable of producing history.

The theoretical claims about the power of landscape and built environment have recently been expanded and grounded with thorough analysis. Alexandra Walsham in particular has focused on what the landscape is in relation to the Reformation in the British Isles. By taking a long view (ca. 1500 to 1750) she has shown how the landscape was a laboratory for the slow and intermittent changes that made up the Reformation. Indeed by analysing the evidence of how people understood, interacted with, and even worshipped the natural and artificial environment around them Walsham has been able to add persuasively to the argument that the Reformations in Britain were long interconnected affairs. Walsham faces head-on the tension inherent in the commonly understood version of the Reformation that pits a materialistic holiness in Roman Catholicism against a Protestant believer-centric view of holiness. The tension exists in the fact that many Protestants through the centuries after the Reformation sought spiritual solace in the material, even if they dressed up such solace in scientific, health, or historical clothes. The more complicated version of the Reformation where every piece of wood, stone, metal, or cloth could be fought over and imbued with meaning, and might retain those meanings for a large portion of the Protestant population, meant that landscape and built environment must have been contested ideas as well. They were battlegrounds for the long Reformation.[10] Because they could contain the arguments

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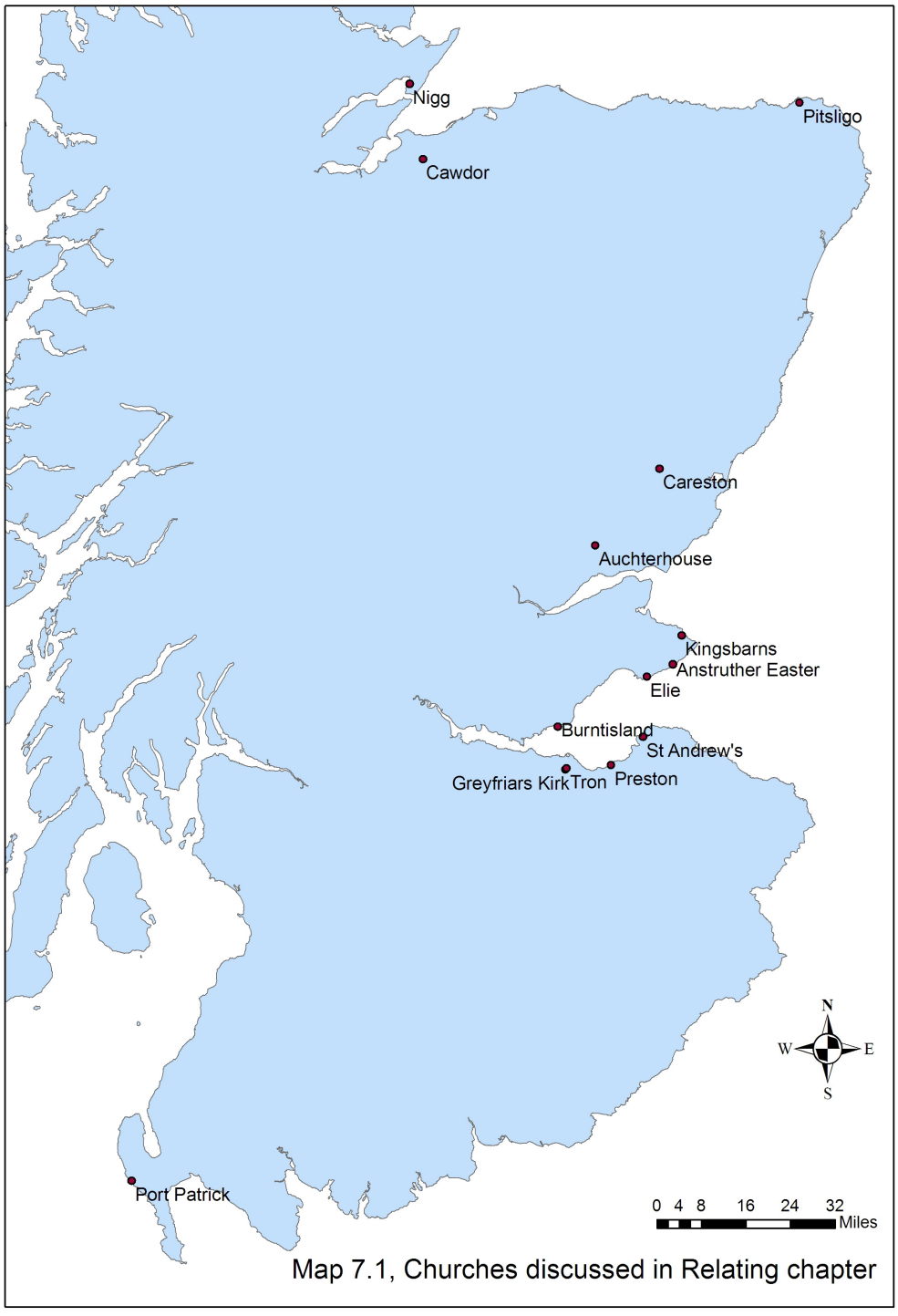
[8] Arnade, Howell, and Simons, 'Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Spaces in Northern Europe': p. 525.

[9] Ibid.: p. 540.

[10] Walsham's summarises her argument by explaining: 'The pages that follow sketch on a broad canvas how the religious changes of the period materially altered both the landscapes of early modern Britain and Ireland and the mental and cultural outlooks of those who inhabited these islands. They delineate the degree to which the Reformation and associated developments shaped the spectacles through which contemporaries perceived and experienced the physical world they had inherited from past generations. That physical world was itself a confection of historical processes that had left a lasting mark on their sense of individual identity and on the collective memory of their societies.' Walsham, *Reformation of the Landscape*, p. 17.

that made up the Reformation, and function as significant contributors to the history of those arguments, the landscape and built environment must be analysed to grasp a fuller picture of what people were doing when they built new churches. The culture of building in early modern Scotland was in large part contained within the relationship between the surroundings and the surrounded.

Scotland is the geographical focus of enquiry. The country in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had significant urban cityscapes and varied rural landscapes. The relationship of the Scottish people to this diversity was not culturally or economically uniform throughout the realm. In some places, the urban experience was the most important, either because of the size of the settlement or the status of its citizens, while in other burghs, urbanity was only a partner in the culture of relationship with surroundings because of the proximity of the countryside to the urban settlement. Further, because of the close connections with the sea in most parts of Scotland, analysing people's relationship with their surroundings must include the coast and the open sea itself. This chapter will employ evidence from churches fitting into one or more of these categories as case studies in the relationship between these buildings and the landscape, the built environment, or their historical surroundings. The categorisations are not strict: almost every church (or its parish) could fit into one or another of the urban, rural, or maritime categories. There are some limitations set by the evidence available, however. The stories of urban churches are often found in documents relating to urban life, which offer a more public picture of what was going on. The stories of rural churches, meanwhile, are often found in documents having to do with land and the use of it, which therefore portray a more practical use of these buildings. The ensuing analysis is thus limited and does not often present much interaction between these categories. Yet where comparisons are possible, they have been made and provide fruitful insight into the possibility of buildings occupying different places in the minds of their builders, users, and observers.



Map 7.1, Churches discussed in Relating chapter

Urban

Portpatrick

Portpatrick was a new urban parish in a port town in southwest Scotland, set up in the late 1620s to help in the fight against Roman Catholic recusancy. The port was the main thoroughfare to Ireland, and thus a likely spot for Roman Catholics to gather and wait for transport to the more welcoming country. In fact, this was an explicit reason for building the church there. Portpatrick parish was an urban and maritime parish, and if some of the patterns discerned from parishes on the east coast were to be followed, it could be assumed that this parish kirk would take on some similar characteristics such as being connected to the water and established in a corporate way because of its place in the town. Despite the similar position, the church's relationship with its surroundings was quite different. The parish's establishment as a bulwark against a national threat, with the support of the Crown, if not at its behest, is the first step in distancing this parish from its immediate surroundings. The resources available to set up a parish such as this in the late 1620s were a direct result of the ecclesiastical financial situation that Charles I was fostering through his government in Edinburgh with the Revocation scheme. This parish's support would be carved out of former abbatial lands, more specifically the whole temporality and spirituality of a nearby abbey, Soulseat, which also included some claims on old parish churches under its ancient patronage.

Portpatrick kirk would become a dominant parish in the region because of how it was set up: this was a story of different levels of power co-operating to ensure the success of a particular town. For in order to establish the church, the king had ended the official existence of the abbacy of Soulseat, at least to the extent that the abbey owned any teinds, fermes, rents, or duties. The matter has to do with the relationship between the church and its surroundings because it shows how the connections between agricultural production, the exploitation of that production, and the people involved in managing such exploitation were always shifting and negotiating for a better situation. The king assigned the old abbatial land revenues to Portpatrick, along with any extra income from the kirks of Soulseat and Kirkmaiden, two nearby parishes that had been under Soulseat Abbey.[11] This new parish of Portpatrick evidently needed to have some financial heft behind it. This arrangement

[11] Decreet of erection in favour of James Blair (copy) (1631), Papers of the Kennedy Family, Earls of Cassillis (Ailsa Muniments), Ecclesiastical Papers, Galloway: Portpatrick parish and Saulseat Abbey, NAS GD25/9/2/12.

was sorted out in 1631, two years after the church started being built. The king probably designed this connection between an important new urban environment on the frontier of his kingdom and the agricultural wealth in the town's near hinterland. The town would not have had an established mercantile elite, only the local lairds and nobles, who were greatly enriched by the landed wealth of the abbey. John Earl of Cassilis and Hugh Montgomery Viscount of Airds were two of these nobles. They arranged in 1635, not long after the church was built, an exchange of teind lands that would see James Blair, Portpatrick's minister, earn his stipend from different lands than had been originally set aside for the purpose. The arrangement benefited all involved: Cassilis consolidated part of his holdings, while Blair received an augmentation to the Portpatrick stipend by adding more to the teind lands, and Montgomery's obligation to Cassilis was clarified.[12] The fact that the church had been functioning sufficiently for six years did not mean that the financial relationship between the ministry and the land was not open to adjustments by those in power. The deal further shows that Portpatrick, as an urban maritime parish on the surface, continued to be administratively tied to the agricultural land around it.

There was a significant connection, at the beginning of Portpatrick kirk's life, between the town's position as the major maritime connection point and the establishment of the new church building. The 1626 synodal assembly described it like this:

> In respect of the great Confluence and resort of passingeris and travellers furth of all pairtis of the kingdome and kingdome of England and Ireland resort and repairand thereto, at all tymes for thair imbarking and transportatione by sea to the said England and Ireland, the said Port being most newest and comodious for that effect.[13]

The former organisation of the parish also played a role, because Inch kirk had been the previous parish church for the town. Portpatrick and its surrounding small settlements were at least six miles away from Inch kirk, which only added to the mayhem on a stormy sabbath day when the sailors could not leave port. The behaviour of people certainly affected the decision to build the church; not only raucous sinfulness, but also the graver spiritual deviancy of flocking back to Rome

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[12] Minute of Contract of Excambion between John, Earl of Cassillis, and James Blair, minister at Port Montgomerie and commendator of Soulseat, John Montgomery of Cockilbe and Hew, Viscount Airds, re teinds (3 December 1635), Kennedy Papers, Former Series 1, Bundle 15 1620–1639, NAS GD25/8/289.

[13] Extract act of the synod of Galloway for rebuilding the decayed kirk at Portpatrick, with letter to Sir William Alexander, requesting the king to erect the lands near it into a parish (18 October 1626), Papers of Professor Robert K. Hannay, NAS GD214/502.

under the influence of Jesuits and seminary priests. Yet all these considerations would be nothing without the proximity of the sea. There was a tangible difference between that initial clear connection to the immediate surroundings of the parish and the eventual administrative links to the productive agricultural land. The practical needs for income to support the church hardened the connections between the land and the parish. Further, the simplicity of establishing a parish along well-trodden lines would be a major factor. The wealth of the nearby Soulseat would be impossible to ignore for the king and nobles setting up a parish in the new town. It was simply easier to use the overall more common agricultural teind systems to support the parish rather than the system that had developed in other coastal parishes, especially on the east coast, of including maritime industries such as fishing in the support system.

The question of tying the parish's spiritual work, through its support of its minister, to the land because of income is one that needs to be explored. The landscape and urban surroundings of a parish had more meaning than their simple economic productivity. This tension could very well be an anachronistic one, however, as relegating the teind system to simple economic productivity belies the fact that it was itself imbued with meaning beyond money. Early modern people understood there were spiritual matters at stake when engaging in work, leisure, and worship. These were not yet separate spheres, even if the birth-pangs of such separation were starting to be felt throughout the Reformed world.[14] The economic view of agricultural production is thus a way of understanding the systems that connected the church to its surroundings. The land and town's economic meaning and the other meanings people ascribed to them were closely connected. Take for example the direct correlation found within the decree about Portpatrick building its new church:

> The parishe kirk of Inche, within the which the said port lyies, being distant sex myles of evill gait and way from the samyn. Lykas the most part of the people inhabitantis within the said parishonne of Inche most neirest to the said port, and speciallie when the Baronie of Portrie and Kinhill and the twentie merkland called Sorbies land, by reason of the far distance fra the said parishe kirk of Inche, usualie remayne absent therefra and exerceis of the word of god upon the sabboth, being exerceised in drinking and other ungodlie and prophane workis wherethrow Atheisme Ignorance hoordomes and all manor of syne abounds in these pairtis as also Jesuites seminarie preistis Trafiquing

[14] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed, 1488–1587*, pp. 236–37, Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, pp. 312–60, Christopher A. Whatley, 'Work, Time and Pastimes', in *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600 to 1800*, ed. Elizabeth A. Foyster and Christopher A. Whatley, *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 273–303.

> Papists (as this present assemblie is informed) taking occassione to resort to the said port for there grettar advantage, And saiflie to Imbark themselves to the said Kindgome of Ireland, for perverting of his Majesties subiects in that kingdome with fals doctrine and stewing up his highnes subiects to Seditione and rebellion dyversse tymes without inquisitione distrublance or punishment of the said Jesuites and Seminarie preistis, Which great enormitie above writtin can not be weill reformed but be plantatione of ane qualified minister at the said port.[15]

The synod saw the problem in a fully interconnected way: the population of the parish was concentrated in the new town and its surrounding area, far from the church, resulting in absence from the church and the ensuing sinfulness, which in turn allowed Roman Catholics to pass unencumbered or unnoticed through the port. They appealed to local and national troubles too, and linked the potential for sinfulness and sedition directly to the position of the urban settlement and its relationship to the ecclesiastical establishment. In their eyes, building a new church, fit enough for a qualified minister, was the only solution to this maelstrom of problems. The synod, granted, was an ecclesiastical body with the spiritual interests of the kingdom as a priority. Their concerns were indeed confirmed by the minister at Inch, John Watson, indicating that he supported the project, showing that local understanding was similar to the regional and national interpretation.[16] For the view was not only ecclesiastical: in the decree discussed above, giving James Blair, the minister, the revenue for the church, which was a royal and governmental document, Portpatrick is described as 'the most commodious part in the west part of Scotland for anent Ireland to the quhilk frequent and dayly repasse is made be his majesties subjects'.[17] Its status as a port was intimately linked to its potential to be a fruitful place to establish a church.

In Portpatrick, then, there was a mixture between spiritual needs and threats, practical realities, and the ideal future identity of the church. This was a top-down

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[15] Galloway Synod Act extract, NAS GD214/502. The implication that the Jesuits were going from Scotland to Ireland, rather than the other way round, suggests two possibilities. The first was that from the perspective of the ecclesiastical authorities in Scotland the danger of recusancy in the area was not imminent. Nonetheless they were concerned about eradicating the potential for new Roman Catholic converts. The second possibility is that Portpatrick was acting as a transit route for Jesuits travelling via England or the eastern ports of Scotland from the Continent, on their way to Ireland. Either way, if the more pressing concern was to prevent Jesuits reaching Ireland rather than staying in Scotland, it indicates that Ireland was possibly more susceptible in general to Jesuit preaching.

[16] Galloway Synod Act extract, NAS GD214/502.

[17] James Blair erection decreet, NAS GD25/9/2/12. Since people on both sides of the North Channel became subjects of James VI in 1603, they gained the ability to pass freely within parts of the same 'empire'.

project, with local support (the new and existing ministers), that sought to impose a national understanding of the church's purpose. The eradication of sin which threatened the life of the individual and of the nation was foremost in the minds of those who brought this church to fruition. The practical realities of the town's position and the church's need for financial support made for a tension between its urban environment and the landed support behind it. Investigating the relationship of a church to its surroundings brings to light the connections between noble and ecclesiastical resources required to support the church and the eventual life of ministry and worship for this congregation. For if the minister arrived in the town ready for action, that is, with an embattled attitude, surely the congregation would eventually follow suit. The subsequent history of the congregation is outside the remit of this chapter. The interconnected beginning of this church, however, brings to light the way one place could affect several different levels of church life in Scotland, and how an area and the development of its surrounding environment could in turn affect that church.

Edinburgh

Edinburgh in the seventeenth century was home to two of the churches this thesis is concerned with, the Tron and Greyfriars, and their urban settings provide unique insight into the relationships urban residents had with their city in the early seventeenth century. The establishment of these two parishes has already been detailed.[18] Their beginning as outgrowths from Edinburgh's central parish of St Giles' is an important factor in their relationship with the urban environment, arguably the only place in the kingdom where a fully developed seventeenth-century urban experience could be had.[19] The large burgh church was still the central ecclesiastical establishment in Edinburgh, both symbolically and physically. The new churches, however, would gain their own relationships with the city, partly as a function of their locations and partly as a function of their purposes.

Greyfriars was built in a part of the city that was not urban: it was built in a burial ground set aside for that purpose precisely because there was more room in the grounds formerly owned by the Franciscan order before the Reformation. Even

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[18] See Preparing and Building chapters, pp. 86ff and pp. 108ff.

[19] Even though Perth, Dundee, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and St Andrews were sizable burghs, the difference in economic and cultural importance between them and the capital remained significant enough throughout the seventeenth century to put Edinburgh in a class by itself. See burgh taxation statistics: McNeill and MacQueen, *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*, pp. 308–20.

though the church was within the walls of the city, the parish was in a much more open position than its near-contemporary the Tron; the experience of attending these churches would have been entirely different. The 1647 James Gordon of Rothiemay map shows clearly just how open the burial ground and the neighbouring grounds of George Heriot's new hospital for orphaned boys were compared with the pressed position of the Tron, surrounded by already very high tenements on the High Street.[20] In the case of the Greyfriars church, the depiction of a perfectly manicured field with tree-lined walks shows just how the perception of the place as a garden within the city was communicated. Its status as a church on the edge of the city was further strengthened by its proximity to the Flodden wall, while the illustration shows its separation from the city with walls similar to those which demarcate the boundaries between the larger private gardens in the southern sections of Edinburgh and the eastern suburbs of the Canongate. Even more, it is the defining characteristic for Robert Sibbald, who described Edinburgh for an unpublished 1693 atlas of Scotland: 'The South-Church, called the Gray-Friars Church, which stands in the middle of the common Burial-place. Many Tombs and Monuments do surround the Church-Yard.'[21] The fact that Sibbald chose to express the position of Greyfriars as essentially a living mausoleum in a chorographical text testifies to the way many people wanted to see the church. This interpretation must be tempered, for as is well known Greyfriars kirk was to play an integral role in the representation of the Scottish nation in 1638.

The Tron, on the other hand, was a patently urban church. Because it was tied to one of the economic purposes of the city itself, that of trade, through its site and its name, it demonstrated the new relationship between the Reformed church and the city. The building's history from the beginning was intimately linked with property that had housed several residential buildings, belonging to run-of-the-mill members of middling Edinburgh. The building fronted right onto the High Street, and the building's colloquial name, in such common usage that it is how the church is still known, the Tron, came from the very spot the church occupied. The tron was an economic tool for measuring salt and other traded commodities which was so indelibly tied to the location it occupied that the church, a much larger, more important, and more public building, took its name. The choice of name emphasised

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[20] James Gordon of Rothiemay, *Edinodunensis Tabulam*, 1647. NLS EMS.s.52, http://maps.nls.uk/towns/detail.cfm?id=211 accessed 25 August 2011. See *figure 7.1*.

[21] Robert Sibbald, text of unpublished atlas, 'Theatrum Scotiae', 1693, NLS Adv.MS.15.1.1, http://digital.nls.uk/slezer/engraving.cfm?sl=70 accessed 25 August 2011.

the links between budding seventeenth-century urban mercantilism and the new position of the Reformed church in Scottish public life. This was a function of proximity, use, and memory. The location of the salt tron weighing machine was in that part of town, and the church building, though its parish had had a separate identity within the worshipping congregations of St Giles' since the 1590s, would adjust its identity to suit the new location. The tron as a machine really had nothing to do with the worshipping congregation in the new church. The name was used to locate the church in the mindsets of its parishioners and the other residents of Edinburgh who would automatically know where the church was on the High Street. Other surroundings could have been used, for example the Flesh Market, which stood behind where the church would be built. This was clearly not as good a choice, for though many would know where the market was, it was not in the middle of the street: it was not as public. Yet the proximity to this market demonstrates another aspect of the Tron's position in Edinburgh: right in the middle of every aspect of life, just as the great church of St Giles' was.

The connection between architectural style and an international Reformed community has already been analysed in reference to the Tron.[22] Sibbald demonstrated some awareness of the importance of the church's architecture to the image of Edinburgh as a fine city: 'There is also a Church of square hewen Stone with a Tower built in the Year 1641, which is called the Trone-Church.'[23] In his chorographical text, Sibbald chose to highlight the precision of the church's construction and the achievement of its tower. The tower was a wrangling point for the council for many decades, and will have been freshly finished when Sibbald was writing in the 1690s. The tower's depiction on the Rothiemay map is only a type of a tower, for it had yet to be completed. The map shows a similar form for the Tron's tower as for the images of the towers on the Lady Yester Kirk, the Magdalen Chapel, and even the Netherbow Port. A more accurate picture of the seventeenth-century Dutch-style tower exists on John Slezer's perspective of the city from the north.[24] This further shows the church in its urban setting, surrounded by the towering tenements of mid-seventeenth-century Edinburgh.

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[22] See Building chapter, pp. 112f.

[23] Ibid.

[24] John Slezer, *The North Prospect of the City of Edenburgh*, 1690, NLS http://digital.nls.uk/slezer/engraving.cfm?sl=58 accessed 25 August 2011. See *figure 7.2.*

The depiction of buildings in images and texts produced for contemporary consumption provides an insight not only into the way the producers and consumers saw the city, but also of the way they thought the city should be represented. Edinburgh and its surroundings could be represented in a cohesive way. This allowed the production of atlases for consumption throughout the country: the possibility of leisurely observation offered a new way of viewing the whole country itself. Chorography was a fruitful style in the seventeenth century, gaining cities and particular writers the approval and potential support of wealthy elites and nobles. Though these images and texts are from approximately half a century after our period, they still provide valuable information about the way people in the earlier part of the century understood what they were doing with churches. They were not simply providing another environment in which to worship. They were making their own mark on the streetscape or landscape, even viewed from afar. The town council would never have been so concerned about erecting a tower higher and higher if this were not the case. This was not a new desire: churches had obviously been built with towers for a very long time. Yet this knowledge, that a Scottish city would be the subject of consumable images, views from afar, surely influenced the decision to build the Tron to be visible.[25] The Greyfriars church, on the other hand, remained with a short square tower that did not need to reach so high, because there were very few buildings around it to occlude the view. Edinburgh had quickly become one of the capitals of Reformed religion in Europe. Its image would need to follow suit.

When churches became representatives of a particular type of religion, their relationship with their surroundings became slightly more complicated. The historical circumstances of a church building being the site for major events in a nation's or city's history could feed a mythology about a particular place. In turn this mythology would pass on to younger generations, resulting in a reverence for the place that contributed to its meaning. In this way, historical events can be the surroundings of a place, similar to a landscape or urban cityscape: that which contains what the place means for those who use it. At Greyfriars Kirk, one such pivotal event happened in

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[25] The visibility of the Tron eventually became more than a matter of consumption. Its relationship with the surrounding landscape was never far from the minds of people in and around Edinburgh. The church's tower left a lasting impression on the civic boundaries of the city in the nineteenth century during the Scottish Reform Act, 1832. The tower was one of the reference points for the parliamentary and municipal boundary dividing Leith and the smaller communities south of it and east of Edinburgh, such as Lochend and Restalrig. See *Edinburgh and Leith* (London: House of Commons, 1832), NLS Map Library Map 23, http://maps.nls.uk/towns/reform/page.cfm?id=2586 accessed 17 October 2011.

November 1638, when noblemen and ecclesiastics from across Scotland gathered to witness the first signing of the National Covenant. This document, formed as a bond between the people and their king, imploring him to act in a Christian manner in ecclesiastical and national matters, defined the discourse in Scottish political life for years to come. Would every parishioner darkening the doors of Greyfriars Kirk in the ensuing years have known about the auspicious occasion? That is impossible to know. However, the environment of understanding about a place's past is just as relevant as the buildings and landscape around it. The importance of the National Covenant was felt throughout churches in the country: a church near Portpatrick on the Mull of Galloway, Kirkmaiden, even became known as the kirk of the Covenant because it was the first church built after the National Covenant came into force.

Burntisland

Burntisland's position as a burgh oriented toward the sea was solidified in the mid-sixteenth century when it became a royal burgh in 1541 in connection with the large-scale improvements of its harbour. Its status, however, was challenged as late as 1625 by its former superior, the regality of Dunfermline, as the successor of Dunfermline Abbey, which had anciently held title over Burntisland and its harbour.[26] Even though the town's urban structure—the layout of its streets and predominant buildings—only connected with the harbour right at the end, this is in fact an indication of its close relationship with the marine environment. Other North Sea ports, such as Dundee, as Charles McKean has noted, followed a similar pattern of evolving so their main street ran parallel to the shore to facilitate creating a barrier between the principal place for living and doing business and the water.[27] This barrier was not to shut off the town from the convenience of the harbour, but more to protect the inhabitants from the biting North Sea winds. In Burntisland's case, the topography of the land helped this set-up further; the High Street was built so that a rise in the land lay between it and most of the shore. This construction would eventually provide the ideal environment for the burgh's new church late in the sixteenth century. The hill between the town and the firth would be able to increase the stature of the new church, one which symbolised so much the move from a pastoral and landward parish to an urban one. For the old medieval kirk was several miles outside the burgh, standing as a connection between the agricultural productive

[26] Pryde, *Burghs of Scotland*, p. 27.

[27] Charles McKean, Bob Harris, and Christopher A. Whatley, *Dundee : Renaissance to Enlightenment* (Dundee: Dundee University Press, 2009), pp. xxii–xxv.

land, as examined in Portpatrick's case, and the parish. While the new church, built on the hill above the town on the one side, visible to burghers, and above the harbour on the other, visible to sailors and other mariners, symbolised the urban nature and maritime connections of this church.

The users of Burntisland parish kirk were self-consciously urban. The trade guilds of the burgh quickly established their presence in the kirk, seeking permission to build their own lofts and paint them with decorative emblems symbolising their trades. The bakers marked their space with an emblem displaying wheat and peels (one with three loaves on) and the year 1622.[28] The evocative symbol would have allowed any observer to see that this space was for the bakers, and would have even given a rudimentary lesson on the function and method of the baking trade. The connection to farming is evident as well: these bakers knew what made them. Their traditional emblem demonstrated their established nature within the town, almost bragging that they were happy in any environment, whether urban or rural. The sailors, on the other hand, loved to show off the newest technology for navigation available. The tools, resembling sextants, are the focus of the naïve portraits showing the sailors at work. The clothes the sailors are wearing also give off an aura of worldliness: they are relatively expensive and sharply fashionable for the early seventeenth century. The choice of displaying one's economic status within church demonstrates an explicit desire to connect the sacred and secular spheres, if not a recognition that these spheres were not even separate and so would not have needed connecting in the first place. They simply existed together, and it was entirely appropriate to bring the economic identifiers into church.

Fife

Two of the new church buildings in this period in the eastern part of Fife provide a succinct case of urban comparison. Anstruther Easter and Elie were both burghs, one being a royal burgh and the other a burgh of barony by the time they built their churches.[29] Anstruther Easter had substantial urban fabric in which to place its new church building. The town had moved quickly from receiving its grant as a burgh of barony in 1572 to becoming a royal burgh in 1583, confirmed by parliament in 1585.[30] Elie was a burgh of barony from 1598, the Scotts of Grangemuir being the

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[28] See *figure 7.3*.

[29] Pryde, *Burghs of Scotland*, pp. 27, 28, 60.

[30] *RPS*, 1585/12/90.

superiors. These two coastal burghs had significant harbours by the early seventeenth century. Elie and Anstruther's harbours and churches are clearly visible in the Adair manuscript map 7 of 1684 of the east part of Fife.[31]

The map also includes streets in Anstruther, both Easter and Wester, yet the church in Anstruther Wester does not appear on the map. The two burghs' status as a waypoint on the coastal road in Fife is also emphasised. The churches in Anstruther Easter and Elie are significant and established aspects of their surroundings, less than half a century after their completion. The coast and the peninsula of Fife are important aspects of how the churches related to their representations. These were practical buildings, built for the most part to address the practical spiritual needs of worshippers: proximity and availability of worship and the boundaries of parishes were the primary concerns of those who built the churches and the sessions who then made them function. The fact the buildings had become ingrained in the consciousness of the landscape is evident by the relationship they had with the economic and transport links shown. Anstruther Easter, in particular, outgrew Anstruther Wester and took over its position as the main burgh of the pair. The parish of Anstruther Easter included both the burgh and the barony of Anstruther. This urban parish church still needed, just as most of the other small-scale urban parishes discussed, its agricultural surroundings for support. There was clearly a legal distinction between the environment of the burgh and the barony: one was for trade and ensuing customs due to the Crown, particularly linked to the harbour, and one was for agricultural, particularly for the enrichment of the feudal superior. Yet within this one ecclesiastical unit there existed a relationship between land and town, one that successfully held the worshipping congregation together. The growth of the town in question is also a major factor in the relationship between a place and its new kirk. The initiation of the building, in Anstruther Easter's case, was in some measure a product of the growth and success of the burgh, because the old parish kirk at Kilrenny could not accommodate the population of that burgh, let alone the rest of the parish.[32] Having a church in the more successful town satisfied the possibility of future grown and the need for proximity many early modern Scottish parishes were facing. This was also during the mid-1630s when there was tangible political will to restructure the parish system to make it more sensible where possible.

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[31] John Adair, *The East Part of Fife surveyed & designed be John Adair*, 1684. NLS Adv.MS.70.2.11, http://maps.nls.uk/counties/detail.cfm?id=66 accessed 17 October 2011. See *figure 7.4*.

[32] See Preparing and Building chapters, pp. 87ff and pp. 106ff.

The legal distinction between royal burghs and burghs of barony did not prove to be harmful to the development of church buildings in Fife, or in other parts of Scotland, as demonstrated with Elie and Portpatrick, for example. The real criterion for success of a church building within a burgh was having enough people in the congregation and a willing financier of the project. Elie was a substantial settlement with a harbour and a significant number of buildings aside from the church, as can be seen on the same Adair manuscript map 7. The seating rush in Elie further demonstrates that many in the town had taken up their role as burgesses.[33] Revealing a level of competition with neighbouring places is the case of William Dougall, who had to choose between living in Elie and living in Pittenweem, about four miles east.[34] Though the population was mobile between these coast burghs, it mattered where one lived, not only for ecclesiastical reasons, but also for economic and identity reasons.

Elie's success as an urban place compared with the former parish centre of Kilconquhar probably had a lot to do with its proximity to the sea and its successful harbour. Beyond the enthusiasm of the well-heeled of the new parish, along with their patron, the natural advantages of marine commerce were too obvious to overlook for people deciding to establish themselves in a small, yet still urban, settlement in early modern Scotland. The relationship with the sea is an important factor in how churches related to their surroundings. The sea would connect to any sort of place though, and even smaller places can provide essential insight for understanding the situation of new early modern Scottish churches.

Marine relationship

Churches having a marine relationship are numerous in Scotland, with its many regions economically dependent on the sea. Burntisland is a major example of this phenomenon of using a church building explicitly to accommodate those who made their living by the sea. The decorations inside the church were a representational connection between the spiritual life of the town and its economic life: a tradition that went back centuries in Scotland. Votive ships in churches and processional ships were a significant devotional and festive tool in the medieval period

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[33] See Occupying chapter, pp. 140ff.

[34] Obligation by William Dowgall in Elie, not to exercise his right as a burgess of Pettinwem, 28 August 1629. NAS GD62/53.

and before, a tradition that in some places survived the Reformation.[35] The representations of ships in the forms of models and images within church buildings were not more important than other corporate identifiers, but sailors had a special place in the world-view of early modern Scots, especially the authorities of the kirk. They often received special treatment when it came to the activities of the kirk. Rules about when they would have communion, undergo discipline in services, and even when their marriage banns would be proclaimed were frequently flexible when sailors were involved.[36] They were constantly in contact with foreigners. All the nefarious influences authorities suspected they had to weather would provide grounds for treating sailors with such flexibility. Ports provided access to politically questionable people and, above all for the kirk sessions of the realm, potential contact with Roman Catholics. For this reason sessions were sure to redouble their efforts in port towns.[37] Such concerns were realistic for significant ports near major burghs or even major burghs in themselves, such as Leith, Burntisland, or Aberdeen. But there were many other places in Scotland with little significant direct marine traffic calling into their shores that had some relationship with the sea. Several of these places had new churches in the period.

Nigg

The parish of Nigg in Ross and Cromarty had a new church building by 1626. The peninsular position of the village makes it a relevant case in the discussion of small places in relationship with the sea. The rural nature of the parish meant it did not have a relationship with a nearby port. This was an agricultural parish with a small village. A late seventeenth-century marine chart of the area, however, includes Nigg and its church as a reference point for the area around the Moray and Cromarty firths.[38] It would have been a strange church to include on this map for navigational

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[35] M.A. Canney, 'Boats and Ships in Processions', *Folklore* 49, no. 2 (1938): p.141, H.R.E. Davidson, 'Church Ships and Ship-Festivals', *Folklore* 64, no. 3 (1953): pp. 433–36, Sarah Parsons, 'The 'Wonders in the Deep' and the 'Mighty Tempest of the Sea': Nature, Providence and English Seafarers' Piety, c. 1580–1640', in *God's Bounty? The Churches and the Natural World*, ed. Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon, *Studies in Church History* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, & Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press, 2010), Elizabeth Tingle, 'The Sea and Souls: Maritime Votive Practices in Counter-Reformation Brittany, 1500–1750', in *God's Bounty? The Churches and the Natural World*, ed. Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon, *Studies in Church History* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, & Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press, 2010).

[36] Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, pp. 85, 140, 272.

[37] Ibid., p. 75. See Relating chapter. pp. 170ff, for the effort the ecclesiastical authorities made in setting up new parish kirks in growing port towns such as Portpatrick in Galloway.

[38] Herman Moll, *The Firth of Murry,* London [?]: F. Collins [?], 1689. NLS EMS.b.3.24/6, http://maps.nls.uk/coasts/chart.cfm?id=177 accessed 17 October 2011. See *figure 7.5.*

purposes, as it is such a low building it probably would not have been visible from the west, or the Cromarty Firth side. And the tidal sands represented on the map on the north shore of Cromarty Firth, wrapping around to the shore near Nigg, would have prevented any ship or larger boat passing. It would not have been visible from the Moray Firth on the east, as hills lie between the kirk and the shore (as shown on the map). Yet the church's inclusion on the map must indicate that it was useful to identify the place, or perhaps the whole peninsula, for marine navigation. The fact the church was only about sixty years old when this map was produced could have influenced local knowledge the cartographer probably drew upon for his depiction. The other small villages depicted on the map are also along the coast, though they are almost all directly connected to the shore rather than Nigg's position, being set back significantly from the bay.

Kingsbarns

Kingsbarns, the small village parish church in Fife erected in 1630 out of the parish of Crail, was similar to Nigg in that it was set back from the shore. A marine map showing Fife Ness, the easternmost point of the peninsula, of the same era as the Nigg map, did not show Kingsbarns.[39] The upper part of the church's tower was probably not built by the late seventeenth century.[40] The boxy bottom of the tower would not be any use for navigation, especially when Crail parish church, not far away, had been a recognizable landmark for many years. This tower had existed since at least the thirteenth century.[41] This was the church the cartographer decided to use to mark this spot on Fife Ness. This, then, was the opposite situation to Nigg, where the new church featured in practical cartography because the building was new and because it was not surrounded by other more familiar landmarks: its own established parish identity helped it to become a recognisable symbol for the surrounding area. In Kingsbarns, on the other hand, the very fact the parish had been separated from another older parish meant it would not register on representations of the landscape. Crail also had a harbour, meaning the sheer practicalities of the town's position meant it trumped its newer neighbour.

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[39] John Marr and Greenville Collins, *The Sea coast from Fiffnesse to Montros was Survey'd by Mr. Mar, an injenious Marriner of Dundee*, London [?]: F. Collins [?], 1693 [?]. NLS EMS.b.3.24/7, http://maps.nls.uk/coasts/chart.cfm?id=180 accessed 17 October 2011.

[40] John Gifford, *Fife*, p. 274.

[41] Ibid., p. 135.

Portpatrick

The marine relationship of Portpatrick is evident from the earlier discussion of its general surroundings. The church, being a part of a town which owed its existence to the sea and the trade made possible by the town's harbour, would have catered to sailors and mariners. The cruciform shape of the building, with its round tower at the end facing the sea, may have evoked a watchtower of some sort.[42] If the tower had acted as a navigational marker before the rest of the church and town was built, the connection between the church as a place for travellers and mariners to rest and the spiritual purpose of the building to combat recusancy would have resonated to all visitors.

Dirleton

Dirleton's position on the rise of a hill just above the Firth of Forth in East Lothian is shown on the 1682 Adair manuscript map 10.[43] The map has the church as the dominant part of the village. The distance between Dirleton and Gullane, where the previous parish church had been, was substantial. Bringing the parish church into the centre of the parish, away from the sands that kept blowing into the old building at Gullane, had the positive side effect of making the church closer to the majority of the parishioners, and closer still to the farms of the southern part of the parish. The flanking parishes of North Berwick on the east and Aberlady on the west were more substantial places, each of these having built up streets and harbours. So Dirleton was a sort of an in-between place, essentially only for the locals. Without there being a burgh in the parish, the entire area was based around smaller places. This situation can be observed partly in the fact that there are no roads depicted going in or out of Dirleton parish on this map, even though elsewhere on it roads are shown. These roads are the major highways of the region, connecting Dunbar, Haddington, Seton, and the coastal burghs of Cockenzie and Prestonpans, eventually leading to Musselburgh, Leith, and Edinburgh.

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[42] RCAHMS Canmore database, *Portpatrick, St Patrick Street, Old Parish Church*, site No. NW95SE 1 (Edinburgh, 2011) http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/60334/details/portpatrick+st+patrick+street+old+parish+church/ accessed 17 October 2011.

[43] John Adair, *East Lothian*, 1682. NLS Adv.MS.70.2.11, http://maps.nls.uk/counties/detail.cfm ?id=65 accessed 17 October 2011.

Prestonpans

Prestonpans and its new church built in 1596 by an enthusiastic John Davidson also feature strongly on the 1682 manuscript map 10 of East Lothian. The town was erected a burgh of barony (with the commendator of Holyrood as its superior) in 1552.[44] The map shows the distinction between Prestonpans, Preston, and Prestongrange. The three were still distinct settlements by the end of the seventeenth century, even though they had been linked since the chapel at Preston was burned by Hereford in 1544. The parish was first called Prestonpans, before the church went up. When parliament ratified the erection of the parish separate from Tranent, it decreed the parish kirk would be called Preston, even though the new building was right on the shore, in the burgh of Prestonpans.[45] The mapmaker was even confused about the intricate relationship between the settlements: his depiction of Preston resembles a typical Scottish town with the high street running right through the middle and what could be the kirk in the middle of the town. Prestonpans, however, is a smaller collection of houses with what seems to be a crossed out tower at its eastern end. The tower could indeed be Davidson's new kirk. What is clear is how much bigger Preston was compared with Prestonpans: a strange anomaly given the settlement closer to the coast had been the one where Davidson set up the kirk and school. The relationship between the kirk and the sea, however, is not clear on the map, nor in the evidence left by the church. There was no harbour at Prestonpans, the more suitable one having been constructed at Cockenzie only about a mile away.

Rural

The majority of the new church buildings in this period were put up in rural parishes. This is not a surprising fact, as nine out of ten Scots lived in the countryside in 1639.[46] Though there could be fuzzy boundaries between what was rural and what was a small village, a large number of these church buildings stood apart from any other significant built-up settlement such as houses that could make up a village or any sort of public building such as a tolbooth or a mercat cross that would mark a burgh. The physical relationship of rural churches to their congregations is a tricky one to parse, because much of the extant evidence for the reasons for building new

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[44] Pryde, *Burghs of Scotland*, p. 60.

[45] *RPS*, 1605/6/58.

[46] Whatley, 'Work, Time and Pastimes', p. 280.

churches has to do with proximity of parishioners to their church. In Careston, Anstruther Easter, and Portpatrick, for example, the new church was built to accommodate parishioners who lived too far from their previous parish church. Among these, Careston was the only parish that was entirely rural. Almost all the other parishes in question in this thesis had rural parts, with the exception of Tron and Greyfriars. This is a direct result of the demographic character of Scotland in the period: most people lived in rural areas, and among places with new churches, Edinburgh was the only sizable town having the need for more than one parish church. In rural parishes, the connection with the landscape was the strongest. In these places which had existed for centuries under the same system of land tenure and social control, the churches built were often seen as a continuation if they were replacing old buildings or as a rationalization of resources if they were incursions into the landscape. Those who controlled the land and its economic utility through wadsets and tacks on teinds had the power to improve the lot of their tenants by providing new church buildings closer to their homes. The result on the landscape could frequently mean a new settlement would develop in a different part of the estate, thereby shifting the patterns of living, working, and even dying.

Careston, Auchterhouse

The laird who built Careston church was concerned with the ignorance of his tenants on his estate. Yet at the same time, these parishioners understood the need to account for the landscape in their experience of church. The former parish church at Brechin, which was considered a royal burgh by 1641, an ecclesiastical burgh of the bishop of Brechin after 1488, and even a city before that, was about five miles away from where the new church would go up. There was a group of parishioners of Brechin on the lands of Balnabriech, the laird of Balnabriech and his mother, and two tenants, who wanted to remain part of Brechin parish. The laird was trying to consolidate his parish into a sensible, and presumably sustainable, size. The parishioners were concerned, however, not only with being able to bury their dead where their families had done so for generations, but also that the information those making the decisions had was incorrect, in particular, the information about the local landscape. They claimed to be 'most willing to repair to the said kirk finding it very convenient for us having naither watter nor burne to Imped us Quhair we receave

the word preached twyse on the Sabboth and in the weekdayes'.[47] Even though the new kirk of Careston was just as close to their homes, they wanted to continue worshipping as part of Brechin parish. They had probably been told their lands were being considered for separation from Brechin and amalgamation into the new parish, one of the reasons being that it was too far to Brechin. They dealt with that criticism, saying Brechin was convenient for them. They even explained that no natural boundary lay in their way that would make an excuse for them. The local knowledge of the topography was important here. The near-contemporary maps of the area show how easy the way would have been. This was simple land to travel through, without any hills and as the petitioners said, no streams or burns. The road from Forfar to Brechin was also not very far from Balnabriech, at least closer than the new kirk at Careston.[48] The relationship between these rural people and their city church was so strong because of ancestral history and a sensible, traditional, and simple connection, that they saw no compunction for rejecting the new rural church. The divisions between rural and urban worshippers in Angus were not as stark as in other parts of the kingdom.

Along with Careston, another new church building is visible on Robert Gordon's 1640s map of Angus: Auchterhouse. Auchterhouse was a church with its own kirkton, separate from the main rural settlement, but not very far away. In the Gordon map, it was labelled simply as 'Kirktown', while the Robert Edward map only labelled it 'K.', and relied on its proximity to Auchterhouse, and likely local knowledge, for the observer to understand that this kirk was connected to the village.[49] This configuration of having a church and a few other associated buildings separate from a place but attached to it is found throughout Scotland. In larger places, the kirkton often functioned as a reminder that the parish used to be a much more rural place, one whose development had changed course, such as at Burntisland. At Auchterhouse, however, neither the Kirkton nor the village itself grew much larger.

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[47] Careston: Petition by tenants of the lands of Balnabreiche against proposed disjunction of the said lands from the parish of Brechin and annexation to Carracstoune, 2 January 1642, NAS GD/45/13/101.

[48] Robert Gordon, *Anguss*, ca. 1636 to 1652. NLS, Adv.MS.70.2.10, http://maps.nls.uk/counties/detail.cfm?id=29, accessed 17 October 2011; Robert Edward, *Angusia Provincia Scotiae sive The Shire of Angus*, Amsterdam: Janssonius Waesberghe, Moses Pitt and Stephanus Swart, 1678. NLS EMS.s.35, http://maps.nls.uk/counties/detail.cfm?id=200, accessed 17 October 2011. See *figure 7.7*.

[49] See *figure 7.8*.

The 1630 church at Auchterhouse was at least the third church to occupy the spot,[50] meaning there had been no incentive to move the place of worship in the seventeenth century. This was a parish that was satisfied with its rural relationship with the landscape. Further, when the 1630 building came to the end of its useful life, the parish rebuilt again on the same spot. Fifteenth-century fragments of the previous gothic church still survive in the church's surroundings, though now they are incorporated into gateposts and walls. In the nineteenth century, even after yet another rebuilding of the church, these pieces of window tracery had simply been lying about the kirkyard.[51] The connection with the former churches was not only represented in the continuity of the position within the landscape, but also in the practicality of the building materials, whether they were reused, discarded, or simply left for eventual reuse.

The surroundings of Auchterhouse kirk were not only the small village of the kirkton and the more substantial village of Auchterhouse proper, but also the minor and major roads, and fields connected to the church. The development of Auchterhouse as a separate village was possibly a result of the road between Dundee and Coupar Angus passing through the river valley. Further, the castle at Auchterhouse (also shown on the Edward map), which had been present since the thirteenth century, was the centre of the village development. The difference between the kirkton and the village helped to create a space for the church to be an appropriate place for worship.

Pitsligo, Cawdor

Pitsligo's position as a rural kirk had much to do with its history of building, which has been examined above.[52] The relationship between this rural kirk, high on a hill above the village and castle it served, and the surrounding land is shown clearly on the Timothy Pont manuscript map 10.[53] Though the kirk had not yet been built when this map was made, it is possible to get a sense of the reasons Alexander Forbes of Pitsligo wanted to move the site of his parish church nearer his castle. The

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[50] Scottish Church Heritage, *Auchterhouse parish church*, (St. Andrews, 2011). http://www.scottishchurches.org.uk/sites/site/id/924/name/Auchterhouse+Parish+Church+Auchterhouse+Tayside, accessed 31 October 2011.

[51] MacGibbon and Ross, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland from the Earliest Christian Times to the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 541–42.

[52] See Building chapter, pp. 113ff.

[53] Timothy Pont, *[Buchan]*, ca. 1583 to 1596. NLS Adv.MS.70.2.9, http://maps.nls.uk/counties/detail.cfm?id=268, accessed 17 October 2011. See *figure 7.9*.

relationship between Aberdour, the old parish church, and Pitsligo Castle meant several rivers needed crossing to get to the kirk. The parishioners who lived east of the castle would have even farther to go. The castle was demonstrably a significant building in Pont's estimation, as it rivalled the buildings of Fraserburgh and Philorth Castle. Pont's Buchan map was a very full one. Though the immediate vicinity of Pitsligo Castle and kirk were rural lands, in the late sixteenth century, they were teeming with life, perfect for Lord Pitsligo's new church. By the time the church was built, however, manuscript cartography had not kept up: Robert Gordon's map from 1640 did not record the church, only the settlement of Pitsligo.[54] Aberdour, the old parish church, still retained its place as the kirk of the parish. Since Gordon was relying so heavily on Pont's work, it is not surprising he did not manage to catch every development in church building in the intervening half century.

Pont's eye for detail has left an incongruous visual record that contradicts slightly the surviving written record for one small rural parish church in nearby Nairnshire. Cawdor on the River Nairn was the seat of the Thanes of Cawdor, who were Campbells from the early sixteenth century. Pont recorded the position of a kirk near Cawdor castle.[55] Yet the church in the village of Cawdor, beside the castle, was only built in 1619. The previous church of Cawdor parish was two miles away at Barevan.[56] At first it may appear that this church did not appear on Pont's map. But here is an indication of how Pont and his successors viewed the relationship between church buildings and the village, town, or castle to which those churches were attached. The 'K. of Caldell' listed on the Pont map may well be the Barevan church, just misplaced. Pont did show a 'K. of Briva' in roughly the correct spot for the Kirkton of Barevan. This is probably the Barevan church, as 'Barevan' could have changed from 'Brae Evan'.[57] The other possible candidate for Pont's entry is Braevall, a few miles away from Barevan, but as there was no church at that small settlement,

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[54] Robert Gordon, *Aberdeen, Banf, Murrey &c. to Inverness: Fra the north water to Ross/Robertus Gordonius a Strathloch describebat 1640*, 1640. NLS Adv.MS.70.2.10, http://maps.nls.uk/counties/detail.cfm?id=9, accessed 1 November 2011.

[55] Timothy Pont, *[Moray and Nairn]*, ca. 1583 to 1596. NLS Adv.MS.70.2.9, http://maps.nls.uk/counties/detail.cfm?id=266, accessed 1 November 2011. See *figure 7.10*.

[56] Gifford, *Highland and Islands*, p. 268, Cosmo Innes, ed., *The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor: A Series of Papers Selected from the Charter Room at Cawdor, 1236–1742*, *Spalding Club* (Edinburgh: T. Constable, 1859), pp. 275, 428.

[57] W. Douglas Simpson, 'Rait Castle and Barevan Church, Nairnshire', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 71 (1937): p. 114. Evan or Eunan may be a version of Adamnan, Columba's successor and biographer: George Bain, *History of Nairnshire* (Nairn: The 'Telegraph' Office, 1903), p. 37.

this is improbable. Pont also placed the 'K. of Briva' in the correct position in relation to other nearby villages of Inchyettle and Achindown for Briva to stand for Barevan. If this is the case, Pont recorded two churches for the parish of Cawdor, one at the castle and one at the historic centre of the parish at Barevan.

There are two possible explanations for this incongruity between the written record in the Cawdor family muniments and the visual record of Pont's maps. First, Pont could have made a mistake. His accuracy in mapmaking, however, has long been held to be of the highest rigour for his period. Pont may well have simply assumed there was a kirk right beside the castle. He did place the kirk on his map on the east side of Cawdor Burn, which is inaccurate but nearer to the castle than the 1619 church. Pont did not make a similar assumption elsewhere on this map though: Kilravock Castle is quite clear on the map without an accompanying church, which was then and still is an accurate representation of that castle and estate. The second possibility is that the written record is wrong or less conclusive than has been assumed. The traditional date for the erection of the Cawdor village kirk is 1619, and is based on three documents from Cawdor Castle included in Cosmo Innes's 1859 Spalding Club volume collecting a selection of family papers. The first is a letter dated 18 March 1619 from the family tutor, James Mowat, saying 'because the communion aproches I hawe maid your tua cupis reddie weyand ilk cup ten unce weacht and ane half unce, and ilk unce at £4, and the workmanship of ilk unce 8s. The gilting of thame is £12, and the cass £3, summa of the haill £86, 6s. 8d. They ar boithe weill and cheip done as ye may sie'.[58] The new communion cups could well have been for the new kirk, as their expense might indicate. But to base the dating of the new church on this is suspect to say the least.

The second is a July 1622 letter to Sir John Campbell of Calder from his brother Colin Campbell of Clunes. Sir John is the one who is said to have built Cawdor kirk. Colin Campbell had been charged to sort out the affairs of John Campbell, Sir John's eldest son, later called the Fiar, to whom the laird was preparing to resign his estate. He writes,

> It war longsome to wryt to yow quhat stais was in the uniting your landis lyand within the paroch of Alderne to the kirk of Calder, onlie this I onderstand to be the main point that stais it, viz. the erecting of the chepell of Geddes in a parish kirk and it to be holden of the Deinrie, and your kirk holdis of the bischop.[59]

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[58] Innes, ed., *Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*, p. 247.

[59] Ibid., p. 256.

The laird was trying to increase the parish lands of Cawdor kirk. A nearby new parish kirk (which never became erected into a separate parish) was threatening the details of the arrangement. It is possible that because of the new kirk building's expenses, Sir John was looking to secure its provision in his time of financial difficulty.[60] The jurisdictional difference between the church at Geddes and the church at Cawdor, that they were held of different ecclesiastical property, meant that separating the lands would not prove simple, hence the cause of the delay. They also wanted to keep the deliberations secret because one of Sir John's nearby competitors, the laird of Kilravock, would definitely want to be part of the deal and force a tit-for-tat exchange of tacks on the teinds of their respective parishes.

The third document is a November 1725 report by Sir Archibald Campbell of Clunes for his nephew, John Campbell of Calder, about the condition of John's estates. He writes,

> As the church of Calder which was built by Sir Hugh Campbell's grandfather Sir John, being the only heretor except Ross of Holme, a small heretor; the roof thereof is entirely rott and many of the slate fallen off, never being repaired since the erection thereof, except three or four couples furnisht in Sir Hugh's time, when the pricket or top of the steeple was by storm blown over and broke these couples; needs to be immediately repaired and will cost double the money if it is delayed ane other year.[61]

The 1619 date is entirely reasonable in light of this piece of evidence, though Sir John had been the thane since his father's death in 1591. Perhaps he built the church much earlier than the presumed date of 1619. Without further evidence than the new communion cups and 1622 letter (neither of which stated explicitly that this was a new church), it must be possible that the church turned up on the landscape in time for Timothy Pont to record it on his manuscript map. George Hay states the church is 'unmistakably seventeenth century' with 'a Gothic window with a simple form of plate tracery, partly restored, but apparently conforming with the original design'.[62] He observed that the church was one of the strongest gothic essays from the early seventeenth century, standing alongside Dairsie and a church which renewed and adjusted the gothic style for the new century.[63] This leaves the possibility that there

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[60] He had debts of at least 100,000 merks around 1620 and had been put to the horne a few years before that. Ibid., pp. 254, 49.

[61] Ibid., pp. 427–28.

[62] Hay, *The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches, 1560–1843*, p. 39.

[63] Fawcett, *The Architecture of the Scottish Medieval Church, 1100–1560*, p. 401. See *figure 7.11.*

was a church body built first—perhaps a private pre-Reformation chapel such as the one at Drum in Aberdeenshire—so that Pont could have seen it, with the tower which still survives being added around 1619.

The date of the church is important when considering how it related to its surroundings, not least because of the fact it was so close to a nobleman's house, even if that house was very infrequently visited. Cawdor Castle had become so derelict as to need serious work by 1635, and Sir John did not spend much time there at all, preferring his hard-won estates on Islay. So this little village church is even more mysterious in its beginnings. Sir John could have had a long-range plan in mind whereby he would install his son at Cawdor Castle, which would need improving, and move the centre of the parish off the hills at Barevan into the valley, the more populous part of Strathnairn. What is certain is that the main church of the parish had moved to near Cawdor Castle some time in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

As many of the other stories about the churches discussed in this chapter demonstrate, the population was getting more concerned about how close their places of worship were to their settlement. This shifting of the position of worship had much to do with creating a convenient village settlement. The creation of the village out of the landscape and the need for the value of the land to stay within the parish were never far from the minds of the landowners. A 1632 contract with one of the lairds who had received part of the estate after Sir John's resignation of his lands secured rights for his brothers, Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan and Colin Campbell of Clunes, 'to cut and transport sick number and quantitie of the tries and timber growand upon the ground of the saidis landis as salbe sufficient and necessarie for building beitting and repairing of the houssis alreddie biggit'.[64] The lands were all within the parish of Barevan, or Cawdor as it would eventually be known. This contract demonstrates the consequences for families and the landscape of the debt society that was operating in the seventeenth century. Sir John's earlier prodigality had forced his son's hand in relation to this deal and required his brothers to commit to paying for the tack on these lands in order to secure their utility. The episode also shows how the structures of power and politics could trickle down to a village in terms of development and materials, directly as a result of the rights over the land and how people were meant to use them.

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[64] Innes, ed., *Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*, p. 275.

The rural and village environment in early modern Scotland provided a wealth of evidence for how new church buildings related to their surroundings. The people who built, used, and observed these churches were conscious of how the new churches built between 1560 and 1645 were effecting a change on the parts of Scotland not in cities and far from the sea, that highway of further connections. In many places the feudal superior, who had claim on the land people lived on, made sure the connection between the people's spiritual lives and the very land was secure by the financing arrangements of the church. In these parts of the country where the feudal structure was the very foundation of everyday life, the new incursions onto the landscape were not threatening that foundation. Even though the Reformation had profoundly altered the shape of who paid for parish churches, the means by which they were connected to the landscape through that payment had not changed very much.

Conclusion

The landscape and built environment of Scotland in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries proved to be diverse receptacles for new church buildings. These physical surroundings for buildings connected people with their physical environment, often giving them reasons for pursuing a particular course of action in relation to worship and participation in church, such as the unwilling parishioners of the new parish at Careston. Physical development and growth played a role too, as at Anstruther Easter, where the parish and town overtook its older neighbour as the major burgh making an effect on the environment. New churches elsewhere did not make a splash, such as Kingsbarns, whose presence went unnoticed on contemporary maps because of the surviving utility of the town and parish from which the new church grew. The intricate history of how some of the parishes such as Portpatrick and Cawdor related to their surroundings connected the building projects to larger national events. At Portpatrick the need for a physical Reformed presence influenced the decision to build the whole town. At Cawdor, cartographic representations have called into question the original dating of the church, leading to more deeply considered reasons for placing the church where it was. The physical urban environment was an important factor in establishing the presence of churches such as the Tron and Greyfriars in Edinburgh. Their place in the city mattered significantly to their builders and users, and eventually came to matter to the churches' places in the history of the nation, and the city's representation in consumable images for later generations.

In all these cases, the landscape and built environment provided more than simply the physical surroundings of the building. In their interaction with those surroundings, the environment of memory and identity became more prevalent as many more ordinary people started to understand how they might use their surroundings to their own ends. Church building became an activity in which all could participate, because all had a claim on the landscape and the cityscape. When those with authority arranged for a new physical presence in those environments, the ordinary participants were affected. Those ordinary participants have left many hints about how they faced being affected in such a way, and how such behaviour fit into the long period of tumult in everyday life that made up the Reformation in Scotland. This was a time in landscape history that prefigured the momentous changes that would come in later centuries when the ordinary person's claim on the landscape would develop more fully into strong political systems. The connection between land and identity found a home within churches precisely because these buildings were open and accessible to all. Because of this accessibility, and because their builders offered these edifices to all in the community, people continued to invest meaning into these buildings. In that investment of meaning, the Reformation became more complicated. In streets and roads, views and positions, and harbours and images, new Reformed church buildings settled into their surroundings just as predecessor buildings had done for centuries before; their novelty, however, was in the attitudes people brought to them and how those people then turned those attitudes into use. The Reformation in Scotland shifted the understanding of material surroundings, it is true, but it did not eradicate the meaning people placed in church buildings or where they sat in the landscape. Historical memory in the seventeenth century, through the records of ordinary people and official documents, creaked under the weight of land improvement and rationalization, yet did not disappear. There was always room in the landscape of ordinary memory to absorb new things, new buildings, and new ways of seeing.

Relating chapter images

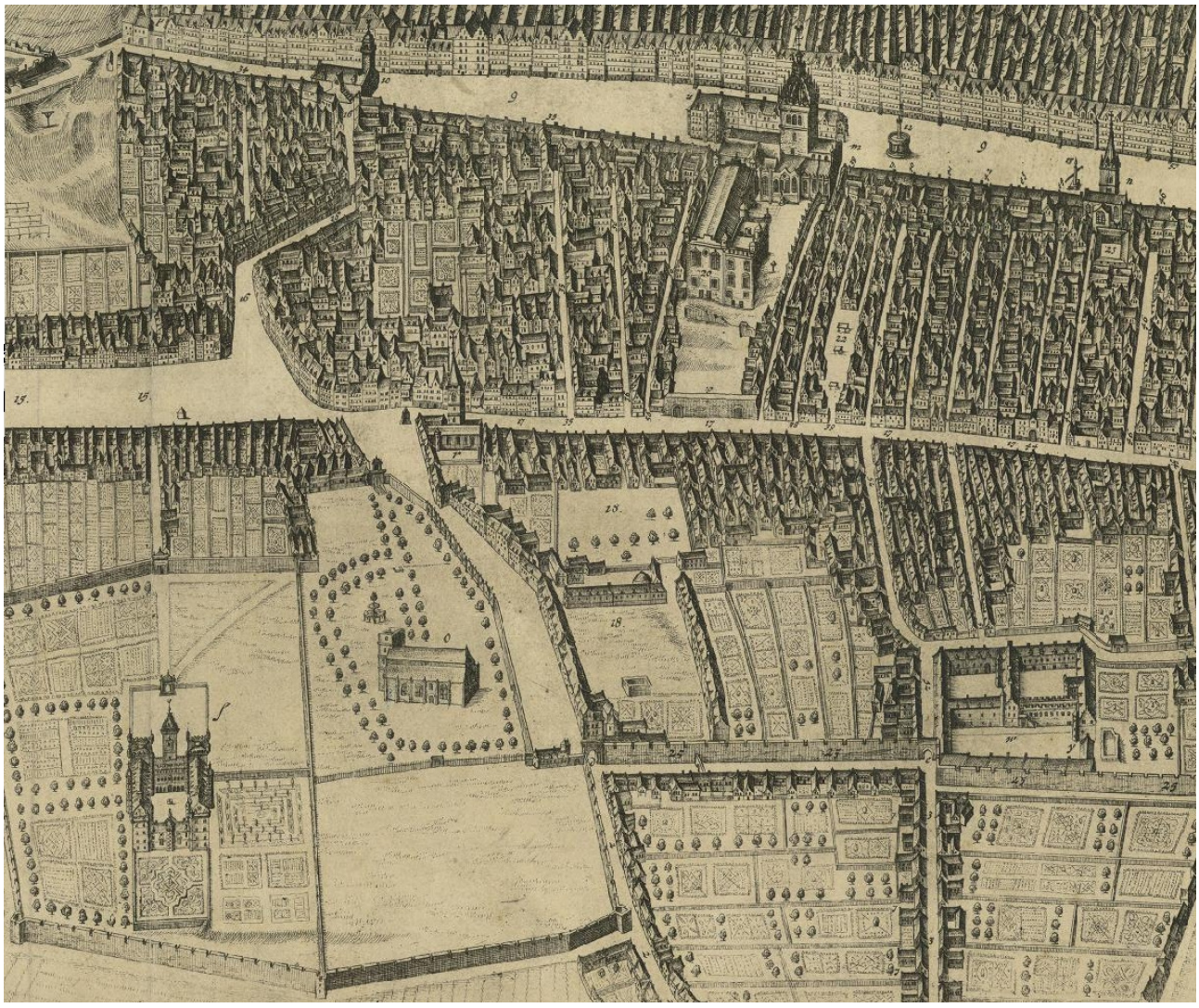

Figure 7.1, James Gordon of Rothiemay, *Edinodunensis Tabulam*, 1647. Top right: Tron Kirk; bottom left: Greyfriars Kirk and George Heriot's Hospital.

Figure 7.2, John Slezer, *The North Prospect of the City of Edenburgh*, 1690.

Figure 7.3, Burntisland Kirk, Bakers' loft.

Figure 7.4, John Adair, *The East Part of Fife surveyed*, 1684.

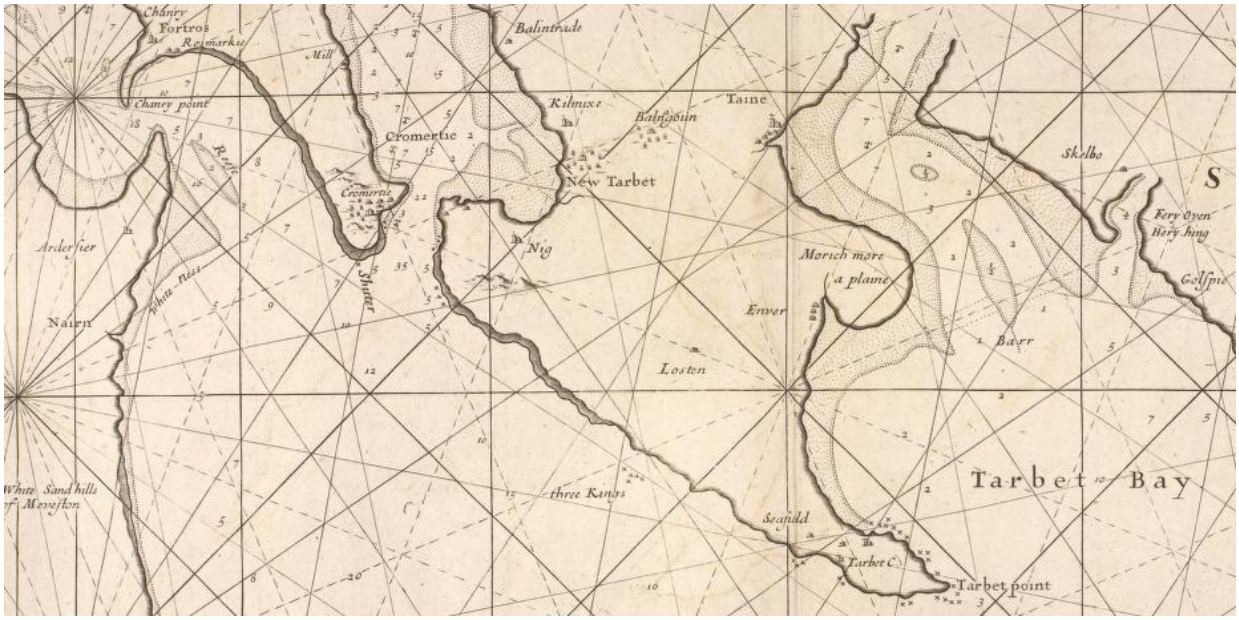

Figure 7.5, Herman Moll, *The Firth of Murry,* London [?]: F. Collins [?], 1689.

Figure 7.6, Nigg parish church from s, 2009.

Figure 7.7, Robert Edward, *Angusia Provincia Scotiae, The Shire of Angus*, 1678.

Figure 7.8, Robert Edward, *Angusia Provincia Scotiae, The Shire of Angus*, 1678.

Figure 7.9, Timothy Pont, *[Buchan]*, ca. 1583 to 1596.

Figure 7.10, Timothy Pont, *[Moray and Nairn]*, ca. 1583 to 1596. 'K. of Caldell' and 'K. of Briva' indicated.

Figure 7.11, Cawdor Kirk, with 17th-century porch, 2009.

Conclusion

Building as an activity in the cultural realm

Building a church was an act of contribution: people who made these projects happen were adding to the physical and more importantly spiritual life of early modern Scotland. The church buildings these people created represent, by the fact they were used by people across all levels of society, a larger portion of the social and cultural milieu when compared with other traditional subjects of enquiry in architectural history. Castles, large houses, political buildings, and palaces were for the most part shut off from significant numbers of people. The parish church, however, was open to all within that parish and any legitimate visitor.

Examining the stories of individual church buildings has revealed much about the culture of early modern Scotland. There is no claim of an exhaustive narrative here: this is not a catalogue of building activity in the period. The focus on church buildings in particular results in a broad sense of how people across levels of society dealt with new things in their midst. The ecclesiastical, political, and artistic milieux these people lived in during the continuity and change between 1560 and 1645 were in some ways exemplified or represented in the ways they interacted with their church buildings. The evidence of building stories can be approached using this personal perspective: that is, looking at individuals and their reactions to the institutions around them; or it can be approached by creating a synthesis of the many stories from many buildings in order to illustrate just how far-reaching these activities were in the life of the nation. The motivations of these actors were built into these churches just as much as the stones and mortar were: by asking questions of these motivations, we have discovered much about the political, ecclesiastical, and artistic world of early modern Scotland.

It would not be fair to claim that the people who built and used churches were always acting for their own benefit: they were intensely interested in the substance of church use. They aimed for worship, preaching, and discipline to be Reformed in such a way as to conform it purely to God's Word. In the process they made the experience of parochial church distinctly Scottish and ensured that experience contributed to the distinctiveness of the early modern period. The Church as an institution in early modern Scotland functioned in a localised way, letting major decisions about expanding its reach fall to the levels of organisation farther away from the centre than has been considered previously. These

characteristics then provided a rich environment for renewing the physical plant of the Church: the buildings across the country were similar to one another in some ways, but rather different from one another in other ways.

Analysing the building projects in terms of steps in a process has allowed the specific needs of people at each stage to be drawn out and compartmentalised. There were distinct agents in each of these stages, and distinct effects on the culture of the time. The permanence of a structure in a new place was not assured until well into its life, a fact demonstrated strongly by the amount of energy the financiers of these projects put into them early on, and then the specific activities relating to setting strong boundaries for the parishioners in relation to worshipping in new places. There was no sense that these buildings were made simply as a convenience for the people, even though inconvenience of old places of worship was often a reason people gave to support a new church. New church buildings were fundamental parts of the project of extending the reach of the newly established institution of the Church in Scotland, and therefore a fundamental part of the Reformation. The processual steps of preparing, building, occupying, and relating allowed the buildings to become established in a way that was coherent with the idea of community in Scotland.

By analysing the evidence in this way, this thesis has elevated the act of building a church into the cultural realm. Moreover, the analysis takes seriously the contributions made by early modern people from every level of society to this cultural activity of building churches. This has been done by drawing on methods of cultural, ecclesiastical, and architectural history to create a hybrid where evidence and ideas normally sequestered from one another in separate disciplines have been able to provide new insights, particulary in the worlds of politics, church, and art.

This research has further opened up the possibility of complicating the history of the Scottish Reformation and of Scotland more generally. It requires those who look at religious history in general to take account of the environment in which people exercised their faiths. From another perspective, this research opens up the suggestion that other types of physical historical analysis could offer new insights. Investigating the purposes, financing, and occupation of educational buildings, for example, might uncover new understanding about early modern learning and teaching. Another example might come from evidence considered in this thesis: analysis of the port infrastructure and its circumstances built in Portpatrick and Donaghadee in the 1620s could throw up new insights into economic, transport, and colonial history.

The aim of the thesis has been to demonstrate the cultural value of ecclesiastical buildings in early modern Scotland. This is done through case studies of new parish churches. We have seen that the nexus between architectural history and ecclesiastical history can be understood as occupying a place for the experiences of ordinary people to shine through as legitimate sources for historical enquiry. The syncretism of ecclesiastical and architectural history lies in exploring what ordinary people understood as important in their lives. The church for them was not only a place for worship and liturgy, but also a place of permanence in the community—a focal point for understanding that part of the world was for them. The building of the church helped this notion. Its establishment as a focus in the physical sense was an important one—but ordinary people would not have had a sense of architectural style (except a select few, and those close the elite in society and thereby not so ordinary). The meaning of a building was as a house—as a structure needed to support and shelter the spiritual work of the church, which was ministry to all in the country in sacrament and worship. If a church was as a house, ordinary people were concerned with its financial solidity and longevity. Building history with culture as a focus can achieve this because the way building can be seen to last.

Politics

Providing church buildings as part of a strategy of political advantage was not new to the early modern period. The practice reaches back to the earliest history of the church, and indeed allowed aspects of the system to develop as they did. The parochial distribution of buildings starting in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was essentially a political move to tie the wealth of the land to the operation of the church. By the early modern period, another phase of the political life of church buildings was showing itself, as the church also shifted how it operated. The persistence of local power in the face of a more unified central Crown in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century is one of the major insights gained by looking at the political perspective on church building. Powerful people in localities knew that building churches was one of the ways to exert influence over a place. To exert this influence successfully, the patrons of church buildings needed to negotiate both the local interests and the national political mood. This makes perfect sense, as building new churches was an undertaking which by its nature affected local situations and had to match up to some degree with what was going on at the national level in the ecclesiastical world. A successful new church building required good neighbourliness with an eye on the big picture.

Portpatrick was one of the clearest examples of the strong connection between a far-flung locality and the political, ecclesiastical and economic trends prevailing in the early seventeenth century. The major distance between any sizable town and the new burgh was one clue about its strong position as a significant port and a focus for the expansionary ideas of the nobility and the Crown in the early modern period. The building of the church and the connection between it and the burgh's hinterland to make the connection between the Scottish and Irish ports obvious and tenable were intentional actions conducted in a co-operative manner by the regional institution of the Church, the regional noblemen, and the Crown. Each had an interest in making the building a significant part of their contribution to the project of creating a pan-British state with a distinctly Protestant identity. One burgh was not seen as a bulwark against the threat of recusancy towards Roman Catholicism; this project was more along the lines of maintaining a strong and consistent defence wherever it was needed.

The economic pressures of expansion and proto-colonialism are represented in miniature in Portpatrick's church building project. The fact that the Church organisation, the Crown, and the local nobleman understood the need for economic security of parish finances to combine with the growing trade in goods and passengers across the Irish Sea makes it clear that projects such as this one affected culture in a deep way. The interconnectedness of life was represented in a church building in a new way by the early seventeenth century. The need to establish cultural links to help economic expansion was clearly identified by those who built this church and others like it.

The political world in early modern Scotland consisted of institutions and relationships, and the interface between these two structures. We have seen that early modern Scottish institutions were consistently interested in the project of extending the reach of the newly Reformed Church in Scotland. Burghs co-operated to finance building projects, parliament spent much time legislating so that church lands and income could be legally held, burghs operated individually to erect churches, and the Crown frequently acted to find local interest where it was lacking. The political relationships between noblemen, lairds, churchmen, burgesses, and tradesmen added depth and complexity to the process of building a church. The political aspect of church building was simultaneously local and national partly because it relied so heavily on the relationships between the people getting the job done. Those who could exploit their connections had greater chances of securing lasting financial and ecclesiastical support for a project. The connections in relationships meant nothing,

however, if they did not lead to action on the part of institutions, where the de jure power was held. The symbiosis implied by seeing political power in this way is not accidental: this was a world where things only got done if the interface was working correctly. If the institutional step worked fully in the favour of a particular project, relationships might not be as important. While at the same time if very influential people were involved in another project, the institutional steps might not be as necessary. Politics therefore had a significant effect on the culture of church building in early modern Scotland: it often dictated how church buildings would be resourced and how parishes would be set up. Contributing to the physical capital of the church required the builders and users of churches to negotiate these challenges. The manner in which they did so became part of the cultural milieu of early modern Scotland. Dealing with political challenges to provide people with a space to worship was surely a most recognisable form of cultural contribution, even if such a contribution meant that they gained in many different ways. Indeed, the political and financial reward of providing a church was to some measure appropriate return for the investment in time, energy, and resources these people made.

Church

The ecclesiastical aspect of building churches is obvious. The institution of the Church, once it shifted into a Protestant theology of ecclesiology, preaching, and discipline, grew into needing different characteristics from its physical plant. The Reformation in Scotland did not usher in a rapid process of church building as it did in other countries, such as France, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. But as we have seen in this thesis, the Reformation mindset of the late sixteenth century was still to some degree present in those people who built churches in the early seventeenth century. In other words, the work of the Reformation was not finished by some particular date twenty or thirty years after the Crisis of 1560. This is particularly true of smaller burghs, not far from the centre of events in Scotland, but independently governed enough that they were slow to change. Elie is a perfect example of this phenomenon: when William Scott of Elie decided to lend his support to building a new church and creating a new parish in the late 1630s, the new minister and elders acted as if the inhabitants of this burgh had not been worshipping in a Reformed church at Kilconquhar. Keeping the population Reformed required consistent and active intervention in ordinary people's lives. New church buildings helped to provide the justification for adjusting the expectations the Church as an institution

had on its members, through its leadership and through the elite in the country who helped to finance such projects.

New church buildings did not always correspond to a particular ecclesiastical hue in the way that some historians have tried to categorise them. In some cases, there is evidence that the people of early modern Scotland were not swayed by their buildings. The minister at Burntisland during the controversy about the Five Articles of Perth, John Michaelson, supported the liturgical changes. The temptation to view Burntisland kirk as a revolutionary Presbyterian space must therefore be checked. For if it was such a novel and significant place that turned out to be good for the development of one particular polity, then surely this minister would not have been able to assert the views he did in support of a position fundamentally opposite to that narrative of development within the polity of radical Presbyterianism.

The position that Portpatrick's builder, Hugh Montgomery Viscount of Airds, took regarding ecclesiastical issues of the day was further complicated by the fact his lands straddled the divisions between the Scottish and Irish Churches. The probable reason he provided Portpatrick church with a Bible printed alongside the Prayer Book was that his Irish churches expected the same. Though he was dead before the controversies surrounding the introduction of a Scottish prayer book later in the 1630s, he probably would have been aware of the plans earlier in the 1610s and 1620s to reform the liturgy. He escaped having to decide about the hardened issues of the late 1630s, but the project of using church buildings in the same vein as port structures to connect people across the sea seems to indicate that his sympathies would have lain with a broader polity of the Church than the one that prevailed in the 1640s.

Montgomery's church was another significant example of the type of development happening in the 1620s and 1630s that did not stop because of uncertainty in the ecclesiastical or economic realms. The abiding message about this type of church building project, then, is that it went on, confident in the fact that theology would be sorted out so that people could get on with worshipping in a simple but effective way. The effectiveness of providing ordinary people with a reason to gather on the sabbath, even if they were from all parts of the country, also lent itself to providing protection against recusancy. This is one of the main characteristics we can assert about the church building projects of the early period after the Reformation: their builders and users always had Reformation in mind. Development and Reformation went hand in hand for some parts of the country in the generations after the turning point of 1560. Church building became part of the

long Reformation because in such projects that created new parishes, Portpatrick and Elie being significant examples, the Reformation of behaviour, worship, and theology had to take hold again and again. In light of this aspect of the Reformation, the notion of uncertainty affecting the life of the church can be seen differently than people trudging on with their simple building projects. If the changes ushered in during the Crisis were seen as evolving, or as part of a story that had been added to throughout the recent past, there must not have been any uncertainty about where the Church was going.

The culture of church building was a useful tool for lairds and noblemen in Scotland, as Sir Alexander Carnegie of Balnamoon demonstrated in Careston. This church building and the difficulty its patron had in getting its parish organised show that the spiritual needs of ordinary people were sometimes neglected in favour of the utility of the ecclesiastical systems for gaining prestige and influence. Building churches was frequently a utilitarian thing to do, and when the evidence leaves this analysis it is normally because the people behind the activities have a utilitarian or practical streak in their personalities. Often the circumstances of larger-scale national events combined to offer lucrative opportunities to people who were willing to take risks. In modern terms we would say people like Carnegie and others such as Montgomery or even John Mylne the architect had an entrepreneurial spirit. The case study at Careston demonstrated this even more strongly because of the evidence of a competitive process going on between Carnegie the initiator and Maule the one trying to check his neighbour's potential for growth and influence.

Aside from this economic competition perspective, the role of providing venues for the ecclesiastical life of the realm was an important one that people in the higher sections of society fulfilled. All the people we have encountered who initiated building projects wielded significant local power, at least to some degree. There were certainly other participants in the processes across the stories in this thesis, but they were often, as in the case of the illiterate tenants resisting their new attachment to Careston parish, people who relied on others to make their voices heard. Similar situations were found in churches like Anstruther Easter and Elie where ordinary people's experience of church life and the novelty of a new building and parish had to be read through the records produced by the activities of kirk sessions and financial negotiations. The need for a space to worship and hear the Word preached consistently comes through in these records; yet the financial motives and incentives connected to new arrangements were never far behind these ecclesiastical considerations.

The main insight gained from Careston church's preparing and building process was a synthesis of these two points: the economic and political utility of early modern church building was inextricably linked to the ecclesiastical purpose of people coming together to worship, learn, and commemorate the dead. The fact the people involved in creating this parish could hold these aspects of life together and symbolically place them in a church building strongly supports the assertion that early modern life was a thoroughly interconnected affair. The life that ordinary people led depended on the sorts of societal structures that more powerful people knew how to manipulate. This is where the culture of building lay: by using church buildings to exercise power, lairds such as Carnegie were perpetuating the cultural systems that allowed people across all levels of society to live meaningful and connected existences.

In Elie, the church building project and its occupying phase demonstrated that establishing the boundaries of new parishes was a fundamental part of the cultural activity of the Church institution. Through the active demarcation of parish boundaries, the kirk session could establish a Reformed consensus in a locality, contributing to a conformity in worship and behaviour that would be attempted across the realm. The church building and the gradations in social status its use represented worked together to bring the population of a growing burgh more directly under the influence of the Church. In Elie, the overwhelming sense of the early kirk session records was one of enthusiasm for a renewed Reformation some eighty years after the first one. The church building gave the minister and elders the focus needed to create that feeling of a new ecclesiastical life in the burgh, assenting to the notion that the Reformation had to be done all over again. This was starkly different from the political and stylistic measures taken by the builders of the Tron, from the state-building exercise encapsulated in the building of Portpatrick church and burgh, and from the concerns over the financing of the parish through setting clear boundaries found in Careston. In Elie, the Church institution left records that tell of concern for the local population and their participation in ecclesial life. Elie demonstrates the cultural utility of a new building being the focus of ecclesial life.

The relationship with physical, historical, and political surroundings was important for the builders and users. This relationship also provides the historian with vital insight about people in their world. Without the environment for buildings to sit in, the fact they were built matters less. Scotland's diverse environments required diverse approaches—the Cawdor kirk story shows how useful analysing physical developments can be in terms of seeing the symbolic value of historical change. Campbell's establishment in Nairnshire highlights how the surroundings of early

modern development were integrally connected to that development. Characteristics of the other church stories such as Portpatrick's and Prestonpans's are similar, but at Cawdor, the ground the church sat on and the resources required to build it and the buildings in the neighbouring village and castle were at issue. The reason for placing the church where it went allowed the political power of the patron to rest within the building, but it also allowed the congregation, the people for whom the building was built, to be closer to their church. The very long history of the relationship between land and church was already well established by the early modern period, but this was a time when the conception of that history was changing to some degree. The possibility of identity being more fully connected to landscape in a modernising world came out of the need people had for investing meaning in their places of worship. This need was in some way slightly out of sight or under the surface, and at its extreme contrary to Reformed teaching. New buildings continued to function as receptacles of identity connected with the relationship between people and their surroundings. Novelty for early modern people did not necessarily mean sanitised experiences that followed all the rules established by those with more influence or power. In other words, new buildings could carry memories and meanings that allowed them to be a significant part of the landscape, history, and identity, even though they were novel incursions into life.

This thesis has focused largely on the development of the institutional Church's reach throughout the country. The buildings described and analysed throughout the chapters have demonstrated that the Church was often a partner with various powers acting in the localities, whether they were noblemen, lairds, ministers or other churchmen, burgh or town councils, or the Crown. This characteristic of the institutional Church, that it knew where to go when it needed to accomplish something practical, demonstrates how connected it was to the needs of the country. Despite the obvious benefits gained by those who built the churches, the fact remains that they were contributing to the effectiveness of the institution in providing the venues for spiritual work throughout the country. There was no systematic programme for accomplishing this task. The environment was not correct for this to happen. There were so many varying interests at play that a model process could not possibly develop. The institutional Church demonstrated consistently that it was aware of these interests and often accommodated them where they were reasonable. Again, there was no systematic attitude towards the people doing the work on the ground. If a nobleman or burgh council had a workable relationship with the church authorities, then often the project could go smoothly and co-operatively. On the

other hand, tensions could sometimes lead to development being spurred on for the sake of separating people who did not get along. Pitsligo is an example of a laird wanting to be rid of a minister with the only solution being to create a new parish and new building. This physical development of the reach of the Church meant that more people in Scotland were participating more closely in a version of Church that addressed the needs of their local community in a way that had not happened as consistently in the period leading up to the Reformation Crisis. By viewing the history from the perspective of new church buildings, this institutional development takes on a new character that brings it down to ground level, and becomes about more than simply how people used their churches and how they reacted to developments in liturgy and polity that were often happening in the centres of power and learning at a serious distance, both physically and socially.

Art

The several cases of artistic endeavours examined in this thesis have shown how local artistic development in Scotland was drawing significantly on several influences. Most specifically, the accomplished landscape paintings that cover the ceiling at the Skelmorlie aisle funeral monument, the architectural distinction of the Tron kirk's façade, the naïve portraits in Burntisland kirk, and the intricate wood carving of lairds' pews in Pitsligo and Careston kirks show that ecclesiastical art and decoration did not disappear after the Reformation. Motifs and influences changed from the predominantly French-inspired styles of the earlier fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to highlight the connections with other Reformed countries such as the Netherlands. The novel use of landscape painting in Skelmorlie is a major example of this, as is the tower on the Tron (which was eventually copied throughout Scotland). New art forms involved the church building projects of the period, and resulted in a legacy of artistic development that is beyond the remit of this thesis. The most important aspect of artistic work in new church buildings was that it was happening: people were adapting their need for artistic expression within the spaces set aside for worship to the new Reformed environment. Skelmorlie demonstrated the possibility of merging secular and sacred symbolism in a way that did not threaten the purity of the Word.

The corporate and urban activity of church building was an exercise in planning but also in image making; the process was becoming the most recognisably modern in Edinburgh. The council's role in urban churches was begun with Greyfriars and solidified with the Tron, allowing Edinburgh to have the beginnings of

a coherent image (at least the intent or desire for one). The political position the town council needed to take to contravene the Crown in the matter of running Edinburgh gave the initiative to the Tron project, placing it squarely within a group of political buildings that appeared in Edinburgh in the 1630s. The fact the town continued to build it once the political threat had evaporated in the late 1630s demonstrates the willingness of the council to pursue a stylistic decision. The architectural exercise in building the Tron over a period of thirty years or so allowed the symbolic nature of its style to take on many meanings. The international Reformed symbolism of the building was clear to its builders, observers, and users. Embracing an international image was one strategy Edinburgh's leaders and those who produced images of the town pursued in the later seventeenth century. The political and ecclesiastical confidence underpinning these activities gave more nuance to Edinburgh's church building projects when compared to churches in farther reaches of the realm. The image of Edinburgh as a civilised and forward-looking city was fostered in urban development projects like Greyfriars and the Tron kirks.

On a similar note, the design of the buildings themselves was an expression of cultural structures. In places such as Burntisland, Dairsie, Portpatrick, the Tron, and Fenwick, there is little doubt that these buildings' designers had the past heavily in mind whilst creating the aesthetic of those buildings. They either took major reference to the past or completely diverged from previous forms. These were severely cultural decisions that placed a church building, and sometimes the congregation that would worship in it, on one side or another of a debate. In Dairsie and Fenwick, strong aspects of Gothic style were used for completely opposite reasons. At Burntisland, the Tron, and Portpatrick, the use of new styles carried varying degrees of meaning in a similar way. These intentional decisions to communicate a message with a building therefore were not always consistently received. This is part of the complexity and intricacy of Scottish artistic culture in the early modern period.

Church buildings and the Church

Church building stories can be seen as symbolic of the story of the Scottish Church establishing itself after the Reformation Crisis of 1560. There were times of struggle when there was very little support available to get the project off the ground, even after an initial period of enthusiasm. There were some times when everything was falling into place and the people and the providers were getting whatever they needed from the endeavour. There were times when external troubles threatened the

progress so carefully begun, when the situation was more confused than anything else. The place the metaphor cannot hold up though is in the spiritual realm. The buildings and the people making them were always subject to decay, while those who occupied those edifices consistently believed their Church, the Church triumphant, was everlasting and made of living stones. That was the Church they were edifying. The building up of the Church was the most important spiritual activity for almost all the people discussed in this thesis. The building of churches was a fundamental part of that spiritual activity nonetheless, and thus it was a fundamental part of the endurance of Scottish culture through the centuries. The variety of stories, of positions, of influences, and of consequences has told of a Church institution and its co-participants that were adjusting slowly but keenly to the world of seventeenth-century Scotland. They knew they were participating in weighty matters that deserved much energy and attention. Their participation led to cultural contribution in the face of inevitable challenges. The theological, political, and ecclesiastical changes dealt with from 1560 to 1645, and especially the latter half of the period, started to create a new world. The way people negotiated the processes involved in building churches across the country ensured that these structures had begun by 1645 to be crucial to that new creation. By allowing people of every section of society to participate in this creation, ecclesiastical buildings in early modern Scotland cemented their cultural utility, both for the people who actually used them and for the generations that followed, as places where memory and identity could be intrinsically connected to the physical and spiritual world.

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